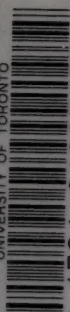


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EGYPT'S
PLACE IN UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

VOL. IV.

CONTAINING THE FIFTH BOOK,
OR,
THE ORIGINES AND AGES OF THE WORLD.

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BOOK V.

**THE
ORIGINES AND AGES OF THE WORLD.**

“Selbst unter dem Heiligsten ist nichts, das heiliger wäre als die Geschichte, dieser grosse Spiegel des Weltgeistes, dieses ewige Gedicht des göttlichen Verstandes: nichts, das weniger die Berührung unreiner Hände verträge.” — SCHELLING, *Vorlesungen über die Methode des akademischen Studiums*, Zehnte Vorlesung.

S C H E L L I N G.

God, Soul, the World, to primal men were one ;
In shapely stone, in picture, and in song
They worshipped Him who was both One and All.
Godlike to them was human kind : God dwelt
In the piled mountain-rock, the veined plant,
And pulsing brute ; and where the planets wheel
Through the blue spaces, Godhead moved in them.
One deathless Unity divine they saw
Behind the various vesture of the scene,
And in the spherul chime they listening heard
The soul's high destiny, which, being sunk
Into this fleeting life, through obscure paths
Must wander, fighting still a Godlike fight,
Victor in life and death, suffering with God,
Who lovingly into the world descended,
Then when the Infinite knew the bounds of Time.

Faith of the child, and wisdom of the man,
And Godlike poesy, oh how blind to you
Remained the dull thought of the modern wise !
Nature to them was dead ; soulless, un-Godded,
Lay wide creation ; and the Lord from Heaven
Looked down upon the dead corpse of the world.

No outer fulness to the soul remained,
And to the finite form no inward life;
And the fair effluence of divinest power
Was Nature emptied of all thought of God.
Mere clockwork was the living dome sublime,
God's dwelling; the vast World a lifeless case,
And Earth a whirling ball! and all that peoples
And nations taught of heroes and of gods
Was nonsense; nonsense all the figured web
Of thought, which, wandering far from truth, was true!
Yea, even from religion's shrine, and from
The desecrated veil, by men denied
The Spirit fled, Father and Son with Him.

Then rose thy soul on wings of thought sublime
Even to that limitless Unity, in which
All Being, and Becoming, thou didst view
Bound by eternal bonds. Then we, being young,
Did hear the teacher's word with joy, who showed
The soul in Nature, Nature in the soul.
And now when scholars, in thy lore too apt,
Suffering a lofty madness from the love
Of thy new thought, a race of Titans, plunged
Into the sea of Nature, and with rash
Intrusion rushed into the innermost shrine
Where men have kept their holiest, preaching dreams
Like hierophants before the gaping mob;—
When these the light that from thy fountains flowed
Perverted into darkness, and the men
Of clear and sober understanding turned
From their obscuring mists; then thou, again,
Didst cast into the depths of thine own soul
The fearless glance, and there with humble heart
Didst prove the secret of all mythic thought:

In the strange play of fabling fancy thou
 Didst hear the oracular voice of primal Being,
 And in the poem wove by human thought
 Thou saw'st the mirror of the eternal God.
 That sempiternal breath of life divine
 Which sways above all time, that fathomless well
 Of thought, the innermost kernel of all forms, —
 This, with the earnest force of men who know,
 Thou in poetic myths of gods didst seek,
 Prophetic musings of a child-like age.

A narrower sphere was mine : to look into
 The human soul, and on a lower path
 Follow thy lofty march ; with reverent ear
 Catch up the hoary echoes of the tale
 Of human fates, and from the law of growing
 Spell out the meaning of the finished growth ;
 The fragments of the primal human speech
 From Asia scattered to the land of Nile,
 The rigid stony lines in mystery veiled,
 Quaint hieroglyphics of the soul, whence sprang
 Light to long centuries, and religious hope
 To a deep-brooding people, and the awe,
 Mother of wisdom, which in soul and Nature
 Felt the full Godhead, — all that sacred lore
 Which filled with wonder and with pious fear
 The wise of Hellas, folly later deemed
 By the cold scoffers of barbaric Rome.
 Of this somewhat to me the Muse revealed,
 That I one arm of Time's far-stretching sea
 Might know, one ring upon the jewelled hand
 Of Truth might touch ; and what she showed to me
 The primal deed and thought of men, behold
 I dedicate to thee. Would that thy soul

Might find itself in what is no less thine
Than mine ; and, from the larger field displayed,
Tempt a new flight o'er larger realms of thought !

In olden times a Godlike child in sport
Solved the high problem — even that Greek mind
Which played with sign and picture gracefully,
Full of eternal truth, and in the breast
That heaved with awful feeling, knew the God
Who, veiled in Nature, stands revealed in Man.
Then rose the speculative soul and shook
Old chains away, and human and divine
Were one, and all divinity with man
Was brothered. Socrates believed the God
That in his bosom stirred, a faithful guide ;
And Plato from the moral force intense
Built up a world. But speculation found
No path that to the holy temple led
Of the primeval age ; the path was lost
In the wild web of legendary tales
And curious fancies. The once awful hymn
Seemed folly, only by ancestral use
Made holy, a fair corpse without a soul.
Even from the holiest mysteries, where oft
The soul devout found refuge, God was fled,
And they who sought him there now sought in vain.
The star of Greece, the one eye of the Godhead,
Was dimmed ; the other stared into the dark,
Waiting for the great light which was to come.

As when Narcissus saw his mirrored self
And lost both sense and soul in vain delight,
So Grecian wit self-deified, in love
With its own virtue, lost its native grace ;

Freedom and morals fled, and in their train
Genius departed, — only Art remained,
And the fair-pictured gods which the Greek mind
Begot with Art: she, heaven-sent, remained
With sorrowing sons of men, when all was lost.
When the strong Macedonian dashed on the ground
The jewelled freedom, even then she poured
Sweet balm upon the grave of Liberty,
The grave which on the ruins of a world
Hellenic genius piled, to soothe the pride
Of lordly Cæsars. Even now to us
With speech divine she speaks, even poesy
With wisdom paired, great glory of the Greeks.
But from delusion knowledge only saves,—
Knowledge which, joined with aspirations pure
And a strong will, regenerates the world ;
Which in the light of God-given faith stands firm
In the actual, and in the stream of time
Holds by eternal Being ; which from the height
Of thought into the deep shaft of research
Plunges, the oracular Sibyl of the Past.
This knowledge thou, master of thought, didst teach ;
This, from the fountain of eternal life
That from the bosom of the Godhead flows
Into the obscure ages, thou didst draw ;
This from the Word didst fetch, that once assumed
Being in mortal body, full of God
And full of Light. This in the holy book
Thine eye did read, the book which taught thy youth
The knowledge of salvation, perfect made
In Him, whom to believing souls the Spirit
Reveals, and with a heavenly strength divine
Renews the heart. Pledge of eternal love,
The holy book, which whoso reads must read

In spirit and in freedom, mid the scoff
Of modern heathens, and the jealous horror
Of Pharisees, who for the soul prepare
Grim fetters, from God's altar chasing light,
As hearth and forum knew their darkening reign.
Unreasoning rabble ! who with blinded sense
Seek sheer perdition deep in the abyss
Which their own madness opened ; who oppose
Their crusted dogma to the living stream
Of Universal Kosmos, which bears on
Truthward the world, to conquer or to die.
To these a warning voice comes from the Judge
Who crushed the pride of all the Pharaohs, who
Confounds all figments and consumes all lies,
Who breaks the shell to let the kernel grow,
And, to preserve the Spirit, kills the Letter.

Charlottenberg, near Heidelberg,
July 1st, 1854.

THE votive labour that to thee alive
I from a loyal heart did consecrate,
To thee being dead I consecrate anew,
And, as a wreath, hang on thy honoured grave.
Thy dust the sod that's trodden by the free
Now covers : fresh the Alpine breezes fan
The curtains of thy rest ; the lofty rock
Hangs o'er thee, and beneath clear fountains flow.
Two kings conspire with a memorial grace
To honour thee,—their teacher, friend, and guest.
Thy people know the place where thou reposest,
And in the tomb where the great thinker sleeps
They see the cradle of the promised age.

Oh never more shall grateful hearts forget
The pilgrim fathers through the tearful vale
Who first adventurous cut their way, and dug
Wells in the waste, where future troops should come
Of weary-footed weary-hearted men,
All comfortless and blind ! But from pure skies
The nightly dew descends into the wells,
And o'er the fountain floats the freshening breath
Of a new life. And, lo ! from ether shines
A heavenly glory which illuminates
The honest vision and confounds the false.
Not with the lips that voiced the word grows pale

The spoken truth : the word becomes a spark,
And bears a soul which over the world flies,
Flame-bearing. Thoughts of wise men still must find
A body upon earth ; for only Thought
Has power to work and to create, and holds
The pledge of inexhaustible creation
In its own fulness ; yea, if Thought might fail,
The world would perish, and all things cease to be.

Now o'er the dark vale of this earthly scene,
Where thou with faith didst teach and earnest thought,
Hovers thy spirit, thou glorious thinker ; now
Thou look'st into the universal thought,
The thought of love that nevermore may die,
And all thy highest hope is thine, to live
In union with the Spirits of the Just.

August 20th, 1855.

PART I.

THE OUTLINES OF A METHOD

OF

EXAMINING THE ORIGINES AND OF MEASURING THE AGES
OF THE WORLD :

WITH A SPECIAL APPLICATION TO EGYPT.

E G Y P T ' S P L A C E

IN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.—PROBLEM AND METHOD.—THE
ORIGINES AND AGES OF THE WORLD.

THE purport of this work has been to establish the position of the most ancient historical people on the globe, with reference to the entire process of the development of mankind, according to the plan laid down in the First Book. In doing this, we had to measure, first, the length of the period comprised between the reign of Menes and the conquest of Alexander, in the authentic history of the Egyptian state.

Starting from well established facts, we then, in the Second and Third Books, found various fixed points of synchronism between these Egyptian monuments and the histories and records of Asiatic nations. Calculating upwards from below, we failed in obtaining from the sacred records of the Hebrews any certain points of contact prior to the end of the tenth century B. C. By the aid of Egyptian records, however, we ascertained

the date of the great Jewish lawgiver, which was not laid down in his own national records, and from it we came to the conclusion, that the Exodus coincided with the reign of the Pharaoh whose name is attached to the last Canicular cycle while Egypt was an empire. We think also, that by collating these two classes of records, and by comparing them with the astronomical synchronisms, we have fixed the age of Joseph, the imperial minister of the Pharaoh of the 12th Dynasty, who was a Sesortōsis, that is to say, Sesostris. By establishing this date we have likewise been enabled to find a method of determining upon critical grounds the important epoch when Abraham, as seer and lawgiver, emerged from the dark night of the primeval Semitic world.

The conclusion at which we arrived was, that this the first strictly historical human personage lived as many years after the reign of Menes as our Saviour did after the first Olympiad, namely, about 750 years. Abraham's date is the commencement of the 29th century, about 2870 B. C. ; the reign of Menes began about 3620. The antiquity and importance of the Egyptian records and histories will be more apparent, when we take into account that contemporary monuments exist of the last three of those almost eight centuries, and that there are points of synchronism between Egyptian history and astronomical observations down to the time of Joseph.

The inference consequently was, that this period of 33 centuries between Menes and Alexander, in fixing which historical records and unimpeachable astronomical calculations combined, was neither indefinite nor undefinable, nor devoid of historical interest. It turned out on the contrary, upon closer examination, to be a period of increasing organic connexion. We may fairly assume, therefore, that it has upon the whole a settled basis, and bears on the face of it the stamp of being his-

torical. But we may go further and confidently add, that it is the real chronometer of the *most ancient history*. We possess in Egyptian chronology, and its authentic world of monuments, the framework for the most ancient definitions of time in historical Asia. It is the complement to, and throws light upon, many of the most important events in Jewish, Assyrian, and Babylonian history. But if we turn from these results to the further objects we have in view, we shall find there is still much to be done before the outline of the historical picture is filled up. Shall we conclude that there can be no history antecedent to the establishment of a settled chronology, and that no approximate estimate can be made before the existence of a systematic calculation by years? Is there no history of the earth itself, and must it be computed solely by epochs? Are not the epochs of primitive history as obvious and intelligible as those which are more brief and nearer to our own times?

The empire of Menes, with which regular chronology commences, is based upon two necessary and demonstrable strata of early facts. The first is that which was requisite in order to the establishment of a double kingdom of the Upper and Lower Country. There existed registers of the princes of both the one and the other, consequently, prior to Menes; Thinite princes in Upper Egypt, and Memphite princes, or those of the Lower Country, who were immediately succeeded by the imperial dynasties of Memphis. In order to be on the safe side, we will consider these two kingdoms as contemporaneous, not insisting upon a few centuries one way or the other. But even under these conditions we reach to a period of 5,500 years, one which is not by any means too long for the number and importance of the combinations which must have taken place before a kingdom like that of Menes, with an established language and religion—indeed, with a regular hieroglyphical and phonetic system of written characters,—could

have been constituted. This notion of a double government especially was so thoroughly a part of their whole system that they never afterwards designated Egypt by any other name than that of the "Double Empire" of the Upper and Lower Country. Indeed, the word "Mizraim," in the Bible, means nothing but the two Misr. The Pharaohs, down to the latest times, were styled Lords of the Upper and Lower Country. But this double government again was based upon 27 provinces or Nomes, the partition of which between the Upper and Lower Country was doubtless made by degrees. Ten of these we find assigned to the one, ten to the other; the remaining seven were known as Central Egypt, the Seven Provinces, or Heptanomis.

Nor were these Nomes arbitrary divisions of later date, but roots of a natural growth, out of which the empire itself sprang up. They form the independent basis of all constitutional or popular Egyptian life, which is clear proof that they must have contained very ancient and vital germs of self-government and freedom. They were in antagonism to the despotic principle of later Pharaonic government, which was in full force in the Old Empire, except as regarded the privileges of the priests and the constitution of the Nomes. When Menes instituted the empire, he must have continued and guaranteed a considerable amount of independence to the separate provinces; for towards the close of the Old Empire, when the regal power was so vastly increased, they still enjoyed a good deal of self-government. The Labyrinth was at once the temple and sepulchral monument of the last of the liberties of Egypt. But even in the New Empire every province possessed its own capital, a shrine, and privileges of its own. The formation and continuance, therefore, of these Nomes compose the first period in popular history, representing the lowest and oldest stratum in the constitutional development of the Egyptians before Menes.

Now, how far, and by what method, can the duration of this political foretime be determined? These are questions which have never been discussed, but which we cannot pass over, when the picture we have drawn of the history of the kingdom of Menes shows it to have been in a state of such advancement, even in its very origines.

It is impossible that a fixed chronology can have been immediately preceded by a wholly unorganized and unknown age. Chronology springs out of a conscious life of centuries. Thus Hebrew chronology, that is to say, the systematic computation of years, only commences with Solomon. Yet we find not only strictly historical personages almost twice as many years before Solomon as he was before Christ, but also strictly historical and authentic dates, though isolated and unconnected, and which, consequently, cannot be restored without external checks.

If, therefore, we place at the extreme limit of this series of development the origines of the political life of the Egyptians, a fresh question presents itself to us.

All national history, as we have repeatedly remarked, belongs to the second part of general history, to the modern history of our race. It is the stage posterior to that of patriarchal and family life. Is it possible to extract any seeds of history from this earlier portion of human development, and to establish an approximate chronology for it?

There was necessarily and obviously an original, holy bond of union in language and religion, by which those provinces were cemented together. It was this unity by which the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt were subsequently formed, and by which finally the imperial unity became possible and lasting. The main cause why the land of Kham, the kingdom of Egypt, became a unity is this, that, from the Mediterranean and the Deserts of Palestine to the Lower Cataract, one language was spoken and the same gods were wor-

shipped. It was thus that an old oracle defined the frontiers of Egypt.

I have endeavoured in my "Outlines of the Philosophy of History" to give a sketch of the general method of treating these two oldest records of the human race, language, and religion, and to draw the outlines of a methodical analysis of the languages of Asia and Europe for the primeval history of man. The people of China, as well as the language of China, is older than that of Egypt. But as chronology commences with Egypt, as well as the possibility of analyzing the second epoch above referred to, or the modern history of the world, so the contemporary records of the Egyptian language go back to the fourth or fifth millennium B.C., an advantage possessed by no other nation for fixing the chronology not only of their own language, but of all the languages of the world. Any discovery that is made for Egypt is a discovery for mankind at large. The chronological series of world-history, in so far as at present known to us, is the progressive history of two languages and two races, the Semitic and Iranian. These two formations are the splendid branches of the tree of human speech which gradually overshadow the whole circle of the old world: the latest and most vigorous offshoot of these branches, the glorious Arian tribe, has outgrown all the rest; as it is the Arian races which have given a new turn to the wheel of history and remodelled the earth. But we are now in a position to demonstrate, not only philosophically but concretely, from the facts, that these two marvellous languages were originally related, and that there is an affinity between them and the Egyptian. For the Khamitic (which means neither more nor less than the Egyptian) turns out, upon scientific analysis, to be the African deposit of a very early formation of West-Asiatic life, in which the germs of the Semitico-Arian original tongue, which were evidently

identical, are exhibited in a state of organic union. We think also that in the above-mentioned work we have devised a plan for linking together the language of Kham with that of Turan, and with that very early formation, the deposit of which we find in the language of the religious books of the Chinese, and its degenerated form in modern Chinese. We would lay great stress upon this point, that, according to the above, this double relationship between the Egyptian and the inorganic language on one side, and the Semitico-Japhetic development of Asia on the other, is not a speculation, but an established historic fact.

It follows, therefore, that a similar connexion must have existed between their systems of mythology. We arrive however at this conclusion likewise by means of an independent analysis. We shall, in accordance with the purpose of this Book, only dwell upon such points in it as have a positive bearing upon the question of the connexion between the early Asiatic and the Egyptian formations, and in so doing shall confine ourselves to what is most essential. But the facts are striking. The mythological formation, in its first epoch at least, presupposes the linguistic formation, just as the political implies a precedent religious formation.

Now in the case of these two records of the earliest times, we must come back to the question, whether it is possible to fix any dates.

It is obvious that the outlines of these two languages, and of the picture of the primitive times of Egypt, must depend upon a discussion of the method, although from the plan of our work, this can only be an elementary one. For here again, the soundness of the method is even more important than the facts themselves. It will appear, from what has been already advanced, that the results of the application of such a method to Egyptian facts are by no means confined to Egyptology, or even to philology, not even as regards chronology. The chrono-

logical dates which we deduce from Egyptian research render it necessary to remodel history, and enable us to remodel it. They carry us back to a very early page of the history of the world, and thereby necessarily impinge upon the ordinary systems of medieval chronology, and thus affect the question of the position which the period itself occupies in relation to the further development of mankind.

We may venture to assert, without being charged with temerity by competent authorities, that, in consequence of Egyptian researches, the arbitrary barriers which Jewish superstition and Christian sloth have erected upon God's free field of human history are for ever broken down. The ordinary views as to the existence of our race and the antiquity of its records, are as childish as were the ideas and assumptions current fifty years ago about the age of this planet. Partly owing to theological prejudices, and partly to the want of a thorough philosophy of history, the views of the relations and bearings of general history have been hitherto as inaccurate as the results would be, if an anatomist should attempt to restore the whole organization of an extinct ichthyosaurus from the dorsal bones of our lower lizards, and to make a foreshortened drawing in perspective of such a fanciful object before and behind. Would it be matter of surprise if such a drawing should finish in mythical or mystical arabesques, and the whole representation had, as we say, neither head nor tail? Yet such is literally the case, down to the present time, with the framework of general history. Sometimes it has been traced out without any knowledge of facts, sometimes in direct opposition to facts which had been long established by criticism. The conventional system excludes the former part of general history and displaces the latter part; the entire basis, the original type of the restoration, is false and positively absurd.

Complaints have been made of want of authorities, from its being forgotten that language in itself is at once the most ancient and the most certain record of the human race. They arise altogether from ignorance.

So far are we, however, by this treatment of the subject, from any danger of overstepping the bounds of rational probability, that we cannot without this method extricate ourselves from the theories and conjectures of unlimited beginnings. It brings out the commencement of our race, in the eastern part of this planet, more clearly and brightly than by the adoption of those mediæval notions. The human race, as compared with the millions of years which have rolled over the world, is but of yesterday. It was only in the eventide of creation that the lightning of the conscious spirit flashed down from heaven on to the earth. The acts in the drama of history have not been, from all eternity, human phantoms flitting by without leaving a trace behind them. But, if we find almost 4,000 years before our era, a mighty empire, possessing organic members of very ancient type, a peculiar written character, and national art and science, we must admit that it required thousands of years to bring them to maturity in the retired valley of the Nile. If, again, its language be shown to be a deposit of Asiatic life, and by no means the oldest formation, it will be admitted, upon reflection, to be a sober conclusion, that we require some 20,000 years to explain the beginnings of the development of man, which has been only once violently interrupted in its primeval birthplace. This is the mighty foundation, the strata of which have been laid by countless tribes in the sweat of their brow, but still keeping the goal steadily in view: this is the soil in which we ourselves are planted, and which to cultivate profitably and to improve by deeds, and lastly by decay, is the aim of our existence.

If we survey the whole course of human development, we shall find that Egypt represents the real middle age

of the development of man, as already observed in the introduction to this work. The genius of primeval Asia comes before us in the early history of Egypt, both as regards language and mythology, in the form of a chrysalis, within which, however, a new life is already in operation. This life is conscious spirit—the spirit of organically creative personality, stamping on the fluctuating phenomena, which flow on in one eternal stream, the impress of the divine thought of universal history.

By virtue of this impress an organic formation is produced, which preserves and carries on the old element, and raises the development of the tribe or people into a part of the historic whole. Of this creative working of the mind, thus awakened into complete consciousness, we find the oldest records in the linguistic formations of Egypt, by which the most serious lacuna in history is filled up.

The ultimate object, then, of the present Book is to represent this development as actual and historical.

The question as to the place of Egypt in historical chronology is thus at once changed to that of its place in the whole development of man. We pass out of the domain of chronology and history into that of pure philosophy. The questions we must attempt to answer are these: What does this position in the development of the human mind imply? What is the place of the language of Egypt, what that of its mythology, in this pantheon of humanity? In what relation does it stand to the ultimate questions about history and philosophy?

It is obvious that a first attempt to give a general representation of the course of history according to these views, and upon that to sketch out the general laws of the development of mankind in its main epochs, must be very incomplete. In the present work, that sketch must be limited to the merest outlines. All that the author can hope for is, that the truths it con-

tains will not be misapprehended owing to the shortcomings with which they are coupled, but that they may gradually pave the way to a more correct estimate of the development and destiny of our race, as well as facilitate the understanding of general history as the Kosmos of Mind.

The present work, so far from throwing a veil over obscure points and lacunæ, will direct attention to several which have been hitherto unnoticed. I am persuaded, however, that these obscurities and lacunæ will offer no impediment to our arriving at a correct view of the whole, nor prevent us from recognising the continuity in the divine development of man. However much additional information as to details future discoveries may supply, the facts now before us appear to justify us in sketching the outlines of this historical development with a cautious, but at the same time with a steady, hand.

These remarks, which will be worked out still further in the following discussions, are sufficient to substantiate and elucidate the philological as well as philosophical or speculative basis of the historical illustration here attempted.

This investigation is divided, first of all, into two principal parts, indicated by the title of this Book: the examination of the *Origines*, and the establishment and approximate calculation of the *Ages of the World*. The primeval time includes two vast formations, which constitute an indivisible whole, that of language and that of mythology.

The first four Sections of the present work treat of the *Origines*; the fifth of the *Ages of the World*; the sixth, with which the whole concludes, is an attempt to fit the picture of Egypt into this historical frame.

Social life, in the primitive times, grew out of the union of families into a confederation of tribes. In that stage, therefore, the germs of the body politic already

existed; but the independent shape and development of these beginnings, which grew out of the vast primeval formations, belongs to the latter half of general history.

The nations of the old world, at their first appearance on the stage of history, were possessed of language, probably of the rudiments of writing and of mythology. According to an organic law which is obviously innate in man, people-history advances by races. Philology has discovered the existence of two vast branches of cognate organic languages, the Semitic and Iranian. The stage anterior to Semism is Khamism, the one contemporary with Iranism is Turanism. This antecedent stage is antediluvian. People-history is postdiluvian. We find in it, thousands of years before Menes, first of all a world-empire, the realm of Nimrod the Kushite, or rather the Kossæan, which probably embraced Egypt as well as Western Asia, the district of the Euphrates and Tigris.

The Semitic branch, in its Khamitic type, extended through Menes as far as the Mediterranean, and attained to positive rank in the world. The Egyptian form of Khamism struggled on in antagonism to the kingdoms of the historical Semites. They both fell under the Arians, who from thenceforth obtained the supremacy of the world, and have retained it to the present day.

Egypt became subject, first of all, to the Iranian tribe of the Arians; shortly after, Cyrus the Persian subjugated the older Iranians (the Medes and Bactrians), and by the conquest of Babylon made himself the heir of the Semitic empires. But it was Alexander, the great European-Asiatic, who severed for ever the thread of Egyptian life, and planted the Hellenic banner of Alexandria upon the tomb of the Pharaohs.

If we connect these views with the historical development before us, we shall find in the first place ancient history divided into antediluvian and postdiluvian. For

the former we require 10,000 years, which we can prove approximately to be the extent of the latter period before Christ.

Modern history, or the age of historical personalities, commences with Abraham and his race: the most modern with Christ and the formation of Christian communities.

The details of the subdivisions of the Ages of the world will be given in the fifth part.

II.

PRELIMINARY DEFINITION OF THE CONNEXION BETWEEN EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE AND MYTHOLOGY, AND THE CORRESPONDING SYSTEMS IN ASIA AND EUROPE: WITH EIGHT THESES.

It rarely happens that the beginnings of ancient peoples offer to the student of history any traces of a foreign origin, or even any direct affinity with the corresponding institutions of other peoples or tribes. The fact of merely isolated or general features in these beginnings having come down to us, which have been rescued from the forgetfulness of posterity and the destruction of subsequent ages, is not the only way of explaining it. There is probably a stronger reason in the fact that the earliest political institutions are apt to give a partial prominence to the special peculiarities of the people in question, in those obscure times when they lived in families and tribes, and the general historical consciousness was thrown into the background.

The case is very different with the beginnings of language and mythology. These traditions are handed down from the house to the tribe, and from the tribe to the people.

This is especially so in regard to Egypt. Here two

questions meet us at the outset which require to be answered. The first is, Whether any affinity exists between the language and mythology of Egypt and those of Asia? The second, Where are we to look for the starting-point, in Egypt or in primeval Asia? This latter question, as a general one, is usually answered in favour of Asia. But the former has, since the discovery of the hieroglyphic system, hitherto only been argued, as to mythology, by myself; as to language, it has been answered affirmatively by me, negatively by M. Renan. This acute and learned reasoner, however, seems to me to admit the fact by admitting the identity of the Coptic and Semitic pronouns; he might have added, the identity of roots. Either all the axioms and results which have thus far been verified by philology are false, or the Egyptian language has an original affinity with the Asiatic languages, and especially with the Semitic. The Bible, rightly understood, is in accordance with this view. Kham is called the father of Kanaan, and the Kanaanites spoke Semitic; Abraham's adopted language is called Kanaanitic. The Kanaanites were Semitic races, driven back out of conquered Egypt. Kham himself came from the original country of the Semites, from Chaldea, before their language had grown into historical Khamism. If we prove this fact of the original affinity, we have obtained a fixed point for the chronology of the formation of language in primitive Asia both backwards and forwards, and we have, for the first time, explained a Biblical statement about the primeval world.

But I will state at once, in the most unqualified terms, that it is impossible to question the assumption of there being a similar historical connexion with the old world as regards mythology, when we dispassionately consider the facts before us, without being doggedly wedded to prejudices which have lost all foundation, and can only be retained through stolid ignorance.

Greatly as the perception of such a connexion was abused by philosophers in the last stages of Paganism, and wild as were the theories and fanciful as were the notions to which this valuable discovery gave rise among German enthusiasts and philosophers, the fact itself remains incontrovertible. It has not been shaken by Lobeck's criticism, which is of a negative rather than a reconstructive character, but is corroborated by the discovery of authentic facts in Egypt and Babylon. It is, indeed, a connexion of a general, pervading, and original character.

In order to exhibit the whole bearing of it in detail, I propose to comprise in Eight Theses the conclusions to which I have been led, as applicable to general history and its present framework.

I. That there is an historical connexion between Greek mythology, the primeval records of the Bible, and the oldest religion of Egypt and Asia.

II. That the religion of Egypt is merely the mummy of the original religion of Central Asia. The mythology of the Egyptians is the deposit of the oldest mythological belief of mankind, which took a new colouring westward in Upper Mesopotamia, and was petrified in the valley of the Nile by the influence of an African sky, and by the overpowering force of solar symbolism.

III. Primeval Asia, on the whole, is the starting-point of an intellectual movement, by the action of which we are ourselves consciously and unconsciously affected.

IV. As regards the Greeks in particular, this investigation will corroborate the fact, that the Hellenes were, on the one hand, no more the inventors of their mythology, than Shakspeare was of the materials of his tragedies and dramatised Epos: on the other, that they did not leave anything in the state they found it, but that they remodelled the whole with the creative power of the spirit. The starting-point of their marvellous fictions in

all the oldest myths are those ideas about gods and nature, and the expression of them current in Arian Asia, subsequently overlaid by Semitic and especially by Phœnician influences, which were circulated through the Pelasgi and Ionians. But they no more took their gods and the histories of their gods from Bactria, than did the Egyptians from Chaldea; still less did either of them adopt the notions of the emigrating Bactrians settled in the Indus country, to say nothing of the Brahminical Indians of the country on the Ganges. But whatever hints the Hellenes adopted, they remodelled rather than simply developed them. This process of transformation was the work of a seemingly sportive godlike child, in whose breast the secret of the soul and the charm of beauty was slumbering.

V. Neither Greeks nor Christians borrowed any portion of their science or philosophy from Asia, or even from Egypt.

VI. Moses adopted no part of the Egyptian customs or symbols: what was common to them both came from primitive Asia. The religion of the Bible contains no mythology. It is a grand, momentous, and happy reserve of Judaism, which shows itself in its horror of mythology. Any personification of the divine ideas is as foreign to the whole tenour of it as is the canonisation of human beings. The historical root of the religion of Abraham and of Moses lies in the Aramaic and Kanaanitish, but this element is a merely outward one.

VII. The popular sentiment reflected in Abraham, in Moses, and in the primitive religion from the creation to the flood, and the expression of it, is rooted in the mythological life of the East in the earliest times.

VIII. The personal history of the patriarchs commences with Abraham. But many ancient traditions out of the mythical circle of the same tribes from whose degeneracy the Hebrews were withdrawn for higher purposes, and for their own benefit and that of man-

kind, were interwoven with the lives and actions of this the greatest and most influential man of the olden times, and with the history of his son and grandson, Isaac and Jacob. The idolatrous customs and images of the people, from the Exodus to the Babylonian captivity, are connected with these natural elements of the tribe and country, not with Egypt.

III.

THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THESE EIGHT THESES.

It is a very mistaken course pursued by Spencer, and latterly by Hengstenberg, which led them to look for an Egyptian origin in the religious institutions and symbols of the Jews. Every argument adduced in support of it is a fallacy. It is, however, a still greater error to suppose that Jewish tradition was a misunderstanding of those Aramaic and Palestinian elements. To say with Dupuis, and some modern German critics (though they have applied the argument in a very different way), that the history of the Patriarchs was derived from asterisms or mythological fables, and that Jahveh (Jehovah) is a mere Moloch under a new name, is as uncritical a proposition as it is offensive frivolity.

Before the Egyptian monuments were deciphered, it was impossible to deal with the above connexion by sound research. Even on the Semitic side there was still a great want of authentic information, which has been acquired in the last twenty or thirty years. The problem, therefore, for us to solve is, the extent to which that connexion went, and how it may be explained historically and philosophically. The first step is to take up the question about the Phœnician tradition and San-

khuniathon, and combine it with the Bible, as well as Egypt and Babylon.

But as regards the relation between Egyptian mythology and the primitive Asiatic, a certain historical connexion follows from the very fact of the linguistic affinities. If Asia gave language to Egypt, it must also have given it some germ of religion, in language, in symbols, and ideas.

I maintain, therefore, that the Egyptian system of mythology is based upon primitive Asiatic notions and thoughts symbolically expressed; and, on the other hand, that nothing Asiatic is Egyptian, any more than the river flows out of the ocean; and that Egypt did not exercise the slightest influence upon Pelasgo-Hellenic mythology. The legends in the classics about colonies from Egypt, in so far as they have any historical foundation, are explainable just as are the expressions in the Bible that Kanaan, who was driven back out of Lower Egypt, was the son of Kham. At a much later and strictly historical period, the tide of emigration, which flowed back out of Lower Egypt, had an indirect effect upon Hellas. Not, indeed, in consequence of the Semitic races themselves, who were expelled, having come to Greece directly, or from Crete and the other islands into which they had emigrated; but because the inhabitants who were expelled by them from the islands, and who were originally of a cognate race with the Hellenes, migrated to the continent of Greece, imbued with sacerdotal Semitic ideas, symbols, and customs, or such as were tinged with a Semitic colouring. In this way, perhaps, we may at last arrive at an explanation of the name of the Pelasgi, which so obviously resembles the indigenous names of the Southern Kanaanites (Pelesheth, Philistines, Palestinians). The Pelasgi in Asia Minor were assuredly not Philistines in Greece and Italy, that is to say, Palestinians or Semites; but it is possible that the Iranian inhabitants who were driven

out by them may have been called Pelasgi, as the Saxons were called Britons.

At all events, from our point of view, we must admit the religious influence of that wonderfully active Semitic race, the Phœnicians, who seem to have exerted no less energy in spreading their religious customs, than they did in their commercial transactions.

I must, on the other hand, entirely repudiate all historical connexion between the Helleno-Italic mythology and the Indians, or even their patriarchs the Iranians of Bactria. The siren of Indomania has in the last forty years beguiled the world more even than the siren of Hebræomania. The historical investigator of the *Origines* cannot, even upon geographical grounds, admit the influence of India, that is of the Indian element in the strict sense, which must be distinguished from the early Bactro-Median. India is a comparatively modern colony of Bactria. But there is, in truth, not one single fact which favours the notion of the influence even of the Bactrian country; they are all, on the contrary, directly against it. We must, nevertheless, draw the line very strictly against the zealous attempts which have been recently revived, with the usual exaggeration in which reactionists generally indulge, to deduce the mythological systems of the Hellenes from Hellenic sources. No one is his own father, least of all the Hellene, the master, but at the same time, the child of the ancient world.

SECTION I.

THE PRINCIPLE OF DEVELOPMENT IN LANGUAGE, AND THE
POSSIBILITY OF DISCOVERING EVEN THE MOST REMOTE
HISTORICAL AFFINITY BETWEEN LANGUAGES BEYOND
THE GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

A.

OUTLINES OF A METHOD OF RESTORING THE GENEALOGY
OF MANKIND BY A PHILOSOPHICAL AND HISTORICAL COM-
PARISON OF LANGUAGES.

SUPPOSING we wished to find out the position of Anglo-Saxon in the general system of Germanic languages, and by that means its place in time and its importance in the internal development of that branch of languages, how should we set about it?

In the first place, we should evidently have to discover when and where it branched off from the language of the home country; and secondly, when it first appears in an independent shape, that is to say, different on the one hand from the old mother tongue, on the other from the language of the country which in its own home either grew out of the common mother tongue or the languages of the country.

It is notorious that the Anglo-Saxon grew out of the emigration of the Angles and Jutes, Saxons and Frieses, who about the middle of the fifth century sent colonies to England, and founded there a kingdom. But as regards the second question, Anglo-Saxon was notoriously an independent tongue, in both these respects, towards the middle of the eighth century.

By a similar method we arrive at a similar result in regard to the Icelandic. It was originally nothing but the language spoken in Norway when, towards the end of the ninth century, a number of high-spirited Norsemen fled to the Northern island from the tyranny of Harold (Fair-hair). The Edda contains the record of that ancient Norman tongue, and the writings of the fifteenth century exhibit to us the Icelandic exactly as it is spoken and written at this day; different from the Edda language, as well as from the new Scandinavian idioms which had grown up in the meantime, but still much nearer than they are to the common mother tongue.

Lastly, owing to the immigration and dominion of German races from the fifth century downwards, we find the Romanic languages, Italian, Provençal, French, Spanish, Portuguese, in neighbouring countries, each grown into such an independent shape within six centuries, that none of the above-mentioned peoples could understand each other or the Latin. Still less, however, did they understand the Wallachian, which had been formed contemporaneously in Dacia by the military colonies of the Romans.

Now as the results of all these inquiries are the same, and such indeed as are in harmony with reason, we must suppose them to exhibit an organic law of formation, which is applicable in all stages of affinity, but under a different formula. With this proviso, therefore, we may from our present point of view lay down the following laws as applicable to the organic formation of language:

First: One language developes itself out of another without any violent influences; the new one, however, must so far be said to be different, when it is just as unintelligible to those who speak the old language as it would be to those who speak other living offshoots of it.

Secondly: Foreign elements find their way into the dictionary in a formation of that kind, as single words, but do not enter into the grammar.

Thirdly: Every stage of language, in such a series of development, becomes poorer in grammatical forms than the older one was, although it may be richer in words, owing to composition or the adoption of foreign terms.

Now the question is, whether we can show that a similar organic development exists beyond the comparison of those languages whose grammatical forms are essentially homophonous. For such languages alone have hitherto been made the subject of scientific comparison.

The results of the researches instituted in this century, which may be called the age of Indo-Germanic philology, are at this stage incontrovertible and universally admitted.

The preceding phenomena, which are clearly verified according to the laws of formation enunciated above, in every branch of one great family of languages, especially in the formation of the Romanic from the Latin, and modern Persian mixed with Arabic from the old Parsee, and which are patent when we compare the Gothic and German,—these same phenomena are likewise found to exist upon a scientific comparison of the various branches of the main stems of human language. The Iranian languages, from India to Iceland and Lithuania, are identical in their grammatical structure and roots; as are the different Semitic dialects.

The latest researches, indeed, have proved, or at all events rendered it highly probable, that such organic languages as are neither Iranian nor Semitic represent, for Asia and Europe, earlier, but still already organic, stages of forms of speech; the Turanian of the Iranian, Khamism or Egyptian of the Semitic. Those who will not admit this to the same extent as ourselves in regard to the Turanian, which is the most

extensive and varied of all the families of language, will still find it difficult to dispute the fact as to its most developed branches. The discussion of the question must certainly be of the strictest kind. The similarity must be proved from the oldest formations in the existing stem: for instance, from the Gothic and Icelandic as to the German, from the Vedic and Zend as to the Ario-Indian, and the old Slavonic as to the Slave. Such primitive forms may then be compared with those Greek and Latin forms which can be proved to be the oldest and the original. We therefore agree with our predecessors in saying that what constitutes the closest affinity is the similarity, not only of the roots, but also of the mode of expressing the grammatical forms. But I submit that it is not the only one capable of being tested scientifically. If (as cannot be disputed), wherever a history of a language exists, the grammatical forms turn out invariably to be old complete roots worn down, which by conventional coinage have been used gradually, first as particles, then as affixes and suffixes, and lastly, not unfrequently as pure endings; according to the same analogy of a rational coinage of formation, there must also have been a time when those formative words were still complete roots, and betokened either a thing or a quality. It accordingly may, and therefore will, have happened, that races or peoples speaking languages the roots of which are common to all have separated, and developed them independently, before such a conventional coinage had taken place.

These languages would consequently come within the category of the most remote degree of affinity as formative languages, if, upon comparing their concrete roots, we should meet with common elements, not casually introduced from foreign sources, but pervading the whole original system of roots. The evidence, however, that this agreement is historical, and consequently original, and that it is due to their cognate character,

must be the same as in the case of the closest affinity; that is to say, there must be an analogy both in the points of concordance and those of deviation.

It will also sometimes happen that the germ of grammatical affinities will be found together with a prevailing analogical agreement in the radicals. Where the materials used in the expression of the forms (particles) are entirely different, nothing can be proved beyond a community of type, which is not necessarily a consequence of historical connexion. But there must be a method for ascertaining the fact whether the materials too are of identical origin. We must extend, not alter, the historical method of research.

Even in comparing the different Turanian languages, we have found the necessity of adopting such a method for proving the more remote historical affinity, by means of the affinity in the common type of the grammatical forms, where there was but very slight resemblance in the material used for the expression of it. William Von Humboldt himself, in the then state of linguistic science, even thought it possible that this similarity of grammatical type might be explained by a certain internal organic analogy alone. This view, however, is now highly improbable; for there is too palpable evidence of this common material in the above languages to allow the supposition of there being merely an ideal, and not at the same time an historical, connexion in every instance where we have the means of testing it. The similarity of the pronominal stems in the Turano-Finnish and the Ario-Germanic tongues cannot be explained in any other way; either as accident or as a natural necessity, or as an inorganic sporadic introduction of foreign words. The one is more impossible and senseless than the other. This in itself proves the historical connexion of the Turanians and Iranians as matter of fact, and the only question is how far the circle of Turanian languages is to be extended.

Now this discovery completes the system to which the Egyptian has brought us. It is decisive proof that the Arian and Semitic stems are, in respect to their forms and roots, so far cognate as to oblige us once more to assume a community of origin.

The series of development thus obtained is therefore, so far as the organic languages of Asia and Europe are concerned, an historical one, a fact, not an idea.

But then, what becomes of the Chinese? It is a language without forms and without parts of speech, whereas all other languages have both. Every Chinese syllable is a word, and every word a complete root, which may be a noun or verb according to its position in the sentence; consequently a not yet individualised stem. Here, therefore, there can be no question about affinity of grammatical forms, for there are no purely formative words in the Chinese, and there is no grammar beyond the syntax, that is, beyond the law of the architectonic arrangement of single words.

Now we find such Chinese roots in use in the neighbouring Turanian languages which represent the beginnings of organic life, or the formation of the word as an organic part of speech. This first stage of organic formation must clearly be that of uniting several roots by the unity of tone (accent) into the unity of a word as a part of speech, consequently into a noun or verb. But one particle does not affect the other, it is merely agglutination. Such are the most ancient Tibetan, such those of the Indian tribes of North America. In these agglutinative languages, it is a fundamental law that the stem which is to be more closely defined by those agglutinations is nowise affected by them. The Semitic suffixes and affixes affect the root, and they themselves have no independent signification as single words. In the other case, on the contrary, they retain their full radical meaning.

B.

DEDUCTIONS FROM THE PRECEDING REMARKS AS TO THE
METHOD AND IMPORT OF THE HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF
THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE.

FROM what has been already advanced, the order in which the above three main stems of language are to be arranged in the historical series becomes self-evident.

We have consequently to investigate three degrees of affinity in languages, which are not only possible and imaginable, but actually existing; and the true, that is the real, philosophy of language must establish formulas for these three degrees:

The affinity of forms.

The affinity of roots.

The affinity of stems.

The *first* is that which exists between all branches of a great family of languages: consequently,

Semism, with its Khamitic antecedent stage; and

Arism, with its Turanian antecedent stage.

The *second* is that which exists, either with or without traces of the first, between the two great main families of the Asiatico-European formative languages.

The *third* is that which proves to be a reality upon a comparison between the Tibetan family of the Turanian stem and the Chinese.

The sentence-language, or syllabic word-language, out of which the earliest form of Khamism directly issued, has altogether perished in Central Asia; but the philosophical analysis of the Egyptian language shows that Semism and Arism represent a difference not amounting to total separation: the two are, as it were, the western and eastern poles of the above-mentioned vast and fruitful development in Central and Western Asia and in Europe.

Next to the inorganic language (the Chinese) come the oldest of the Turanian formations: historically, therefore, all the languages of the latter stem, in so far as they have remained purely agglutinative. For this latter principle is necessarily opposed to the admission of the Semitic system of affixes, or the Arian one of terminal syllables. But if the former principle be abandoned, the language ceases *de facto* to be Turanian, and consequently does not come under discussion here.

Khamism, the stage antecedent to Semism, exhibits a development corresponding to the Turanian which we require. Its importance, however, is of a very special kind. The Egyptian alone furnishes authentic proof of the identity of the Semitic and Iranian. In it also we find a fixed chronological point which goes very far back, and a continuous series of records during three thousand years.

Now should we succeed in defining the position, as to date, of any language by the internal fundamental quality of its construction in relation to other languages which are scientifically investigated, we should thus have laid the foundation for defining an epoch in primeval time. In that case we might venture to hope that we had obtained, for the first time, an authentic basis for the historical development of primeval humanity; not merely in the idea, but according to actual affinity, and according to epoch, capable of being fixed chronologically with more or less precision. This fact would be of a certain importance. The final corollary would be the scientific demonstration of the unity of mankind, naturally and historically, as well as the unity of language and all the traditions and customs dependent upon it. It would also prove that the human race must have required a far longer period of existence for Chinese to grow into Iranism, than those who hold the ordinary rabbinical notions are

willing to admit ; notions which have only originated and been maintained from want of thought, and from confusion in religious or ecclesiastical views. Every separate stratum of language which can be pointed out implies an epoch ; a new one cannot be formed until the earlier has died out and become a humus for the growth of another. The organic law of nature must run its course.

In this way, lastly, an immovable basis for the general internal history of man would be obtained ; that is to say, for the understanding of it as an organic development of the idea of the Humanity.

We must therefore endeavour to give a sketch of the outlines of such a method, for the especial aim and object of this work.

C.

OUTLINES OF A PHILOSOPHICAL METHOD OF DETERMINING APPROXIMATELY THE AGE OF THE PRIMITIVE WORLD BY MEANS OF LANGUAGE, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO EGYPT.

THE facts before us establish beyond all dispute the reasonableness and probability of the assumption that the Egyptian language is connected with the historical languages of Asia, and that it represents the deposit of a type of language which served in the primeval country as the point of transition for new formations.

This brings us, therefore, to the threshold of an inquiry which, to many who have gone with us thus far, may at the first blush seem too adventurous. We mean to undertake to determine the place which the above formation of language occupies in time, although we have stated expressly that any certain chronology prior to

Menes is out of the question. Many persons will be unable to shake off the impression that we must be leading them into a path from which there is no means of extricating ourselves.

For my own part, I am, on the contrary, convinced by the results of my researches, that this inquiry not only admits of being satisfactorily established in theory, but that we possess the means of applying the theory successfully to the immediate object of our research. It can be shown that by means of Egypt the bridge is found which was wanted for passing from the historic to the ante-historic and primeval, with a computation of dates. I cherish the belief, also, that every educated reader, who does not shrink from the trouble of carefully examining the method here to be developed, will find sufficient help, in the materials which have been and still are to be adduced upon the best authority, to enable him to test it for himself. It is true, that, in order to keep within the compass of this work, I must refer him to the general outlines of the historical philosophy of language, which were sketched out, in my latest English work, upon the basis of a Preliminary Essay in 1847.

The historic age is computed by years; primeval time is computed by epochs. The first thing to be done is to find the unit for the primeval world which corresponds to years. This is obviously the difference between the beginning of one life or generation of men and the next; or, according to the calculation which upon the whole is found correct both for the Old and New World, the third of a century.

This unit is not an arbitrary one. In language, especially, every thing is a tradition from generation to generation; consequently progress is so likewise. Language progresses as soon as the movement of organic life is felt within it. But it progresses as from mother to child, from the elders of a community to the youth, from priest

to pupil. And yet a language which has entered upon the course of organic formation, even under circumstances the most favourable for conservation, becomes changed imperceptibly in the hands of fathers and mothers and teachers. There was an interval of a thousand years between Charlemagne the first, and Francis II. the last, king of the Germans; they both belonged to the same race of the German people. The art of writing existed in the reign of the great hero of the Franks, and this nation has remained undisturbed master of its own land and its own civilisation. The Frankish idiom was in general use, and had been for centuries the prevailing language. Each of the emperors was probably taught the Lord's Prayer by his mother, and these two mothers lived only about twenty-eight generations from each other. Yet they could no more have understood each other than we, without scientific training, can understand the language of Otfried. Great part of the grammatical forms of the old Frankish tongue have died out; the phonetic laws are in a great measure altered; many old words have disappeared or become undistinguishable, and new words have taken their place. A growing change, the consequence of the law of development, is prepared in one generation, it progresses in the second, and is adopted in the third. The father dies using words which he knew as a boy; the son feels himself more independent of the old words, and marches with the stream of new formations which time has adopted. The grandson receives this new formation as something already established. Such must have been the case also in the primitive world, when once the stiffness of the radical language was broken through. This brings us to the second unit, the century.

We would offer a few general remarks upon the higher units of this primitive Chronology, and ask: How long can such an internal development of language go on? To this we must give the general answer: As long as

a nation, speaking any given tongue, exists. New languages spring up only in consequence of the forcible decline of a nation or state, and the formation of new nationalities, fresh constitutions, or even religious combinations.

A crisis of this kind, however, never takes place in the formation of languages very rapidly. We find that in the formation of the Romanic languages, 500 years, or fifteen generations, suffice to form a new language out of an old one which has a tendency to die off, which new language adopts its forms as a regular process of new creations, and no longer as a corruption of the old. The formation of modern Persian out of the old Parsee is a much slighter alteration than that of Latin into Romanic. Arabic words are only found in it here and there; the Persian words are merely something worn down. And yet it required nearly 500 years before this change took the shape of a written character.

But it is wholly impossible to estimate the date of the duration of a language by itself, when a nation remains in its own country. Languages possessing a great abundance of forms have more to rub off, and they undergo more changes than those in which there is a poverty of forms. How little change have fourteen centuries, or more than forty generations, effected in Brittany!

The people of that country, in spite of the introduction of French words, and the general decay of the language, have very little difficulty in making themselves, to a certain degree, understood in Wales by a descendant of their ancestors who emigrated in the fifth century, as I know from personal experience, having had occasion to test it in the year 1838. Besides this, a great deal must depend upon the vigour of the intruding and disturbing element. The Frank was unable to displace the Romanic peasant language of the Roman colonists and Gallic Celts. The Anglo-Saxon readily formed connexions with the Cymri women, and the men who

continued among them quietly adopted the new relations. But he taught them all to speak pure Anglo-Saxon and Friesic; which latter language retained its old forms much longer than that of the Angles and Frieses in the land of its birth; and yet, at the end of six hundred years, even its forms were impoverished, when the bold Norman, together with the Latin priesthood, forced into the core of the Germanic race French words which he had adopted as the potent wedges of his civilisation and rule. It was not till two centuries afterwards that the proper English language, which grew out of it as a mixed language, exhibited an internal, an organic unity.

Here, then, we must abstain from any closer general definitions, and proceed at once to the main point of the question before us.

The possibility of answering it first, and in general terms, depend upon two assumptions: one is, that the world-forming languages represent a progressive series of formations, each of which implies an antecedent; the other, that this series is a connected one, not only in the idea, but historically also.

Now I think I have so far satisfactorily proved, in my "Outlines of the Philosophy of Language and Religion," that these assumptions are justified and established by a methodical treatment of the languages, so that I may venture to refer to it as being based on scientific principles. I think that I may also assume the Egyptian to belong to this category, as a point capable of demonstration, if not demonstrated; supported as it is by the Exposition in the grammatical compendium in the first volume of this work, to which a valuable addition will be found in the concluding volume, and for which I am indebted to Mr. Birch. The lexicographical proof will also be given in the Appendix to that volume.

Professor Pott, who has written upon the Indo-Germanic class of languages in a somewhat one-sided manner, and who has overlooked the fact of its not only not

representing the oldest, but actually the most modern and most advanced, formation, in his otherwise favourable review of Max Müller's treatise on the Turanian languages¹, has certainly expressed great surprise at what he calls the boldness of my young friend's researches in my "Sketches." He says, very naively, that if we admit such an extension of the historical affinities, we may at last go so far as to show a connexion between even the American and Australian languages and the Asiatic. And we would just ask this learned and ingenious investigator, Why not? The objections to it are precisely of the same character as those of the old philologists before Frederic Schlegel, when they heard the affinity between the Germans and Russians and the Arian nations of India seriously discussed. These are foregone opinions and prejudices, adopted by scholars from a want of scientific method, and by others from sheer ignorance. It is no longer possible to avoid making a scientific inquiry of this kind. Theologians are quite right in being annoyed by scholars like Max Müller, but we are dealing here with a purely philosophical discussion, and the philological test of its application.

We start, therefore, with this premiss: — That in the Egyptian we have obtained a fixed chronological point, and in fact the highest in general history. In it we find a perfectly formed language, which we can prove to have been in existence about the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. We have, moreover, the means of determining approximatively the epoch of the beginnings of regal government immediately before Menes. We therefore arrive at the very threshold of the formation of language.

How, then, is a general method to be laid down for proceeding further backwards from the above fixed

¹ Zeitschrift der Deutsch. morgenländ. Gesell., 1855.

point to the beginnings of this (and, as I believe, probably, of all) formation of language? In this ascending line we have one fixed point, the first *x* of our calculation, the transition of the inorganic or radical language to the organic word- or form-language. In short, the great turning-point is the origin of parts of speech, as being the organic elements of a sentence, whereas in the other case every word is an undeveloped sentence. New languages alone possess sentences which are composed of organic parts. Every organic formation of language must have gone through this transition; and it is proved by analysis of the languages of Asia and Europe, that, as far as the civilised world is concerned, all organic languages spring from one and the same radical language, the deposit of which we find in Chinese.

Starting from like beginnings, it is obvious that different races, which separate off in opposite ways into individual life, must attain different points of civilisation, some more and others less in advance. The history of language shows that this is actually the case. Which of these series thus formed may be considered as the chronometer of universal history?

Clearly that which is the shortest. From this two conclusions result, which are not at first sight so obvious. One is, that wherever a new organic form is developed as a new language, the earlier one is no longer computed. From the moment that the oldest form of Tibetan was constructed out of the splinters of Chinese granite, it carried on the chronological series of development, even though the Chinese may, after thousands of years, not have relaxed in the home country the rigidity which has been broken through in Tibet. From the moment that the Khamism of the home country was converted in Asia into historical Semism, the Egyptian deposit of that antecedent stage ceased to be computed. This is the first conclusion. The second is, that all

branchings-off are by-paths running parallel to the chronological series, without being reckoned in it. Now which is the shortest series in the actual state of things before us? The one which leads by the most direct line to our own, Arian, branch of language?

Here we must revert to a general law of creation in the natural as well as intellectual world.

In nature, all organic life springs out of inorganic soil, which is gradually formed into earth, stones, and metals. As animal life has its prototype in vegetable life, which must exist in order to furnish nourishment for it, so is vegetable life based upon a series of formations which we call inorganic, because it exhibits no articulation, no manifestation of a whole by means of certain parts, which are essential to express its idea. It consists of nothing but pieces, the largest as well as smallest; atoms, but not individuals. The smallest piece of a rock is as much a stone as the entire rock.

We see, however, in the organic world itself, that everything tends towards conscious personality, towards man. It is only in the higher forms, sometimes only in man, that very slight tendencies to new formations, which comparative physiology has discovered in the lower animals, become complete, and arrive, as it were, at an understanding of themselves; it is only there that they exhibit their full import and real meaning. The organic, consequently, does not develop itself out of the inorganic, although it does develop itself upon the basis of it. Man no more grows out of the lower animal forms, than the animal does out of the plant, or the plant out of the stone. Everything on this earth, on the contrary, nay, the very earth itself, has an aspiration towards man.

In like manner, and in obedience to the same law, any language which has once entered upon organic life struggles, from first to last, after that form which becomes complete by the formation of articulated sentences;

which, as regards formal structure, we find perfect in Sanskrit and Greek; as regards the structure of its periods, only in Greek and Latin. But here again, as in nature, many contrasts exist contemporaneously, which are based upon some special character, and which they exclusively adopt.

Now the number of these formative processes is exactly the same as the number of languages and stems of languages prior to the Arian. Even the American tongues (if, as I am perfectly satisfied, they as well as the Australian belong to the Asiatic, and, indeed, the Turanian stem) are a step in this direction. It is true, however, that it is by a roundabout way; for the Turanian has failed in attaining that state of perfection even more than the Semitic, having at as early a stage established itself upon a one-sided basis. In this, his own peculiar way, however, the Semite proceeded with great ingenuity and careful consideration, so that his language forms the highest episode, but only an episode, in general history. We may also state, parenthetically, that it is precisely in this character that this remarkable Semitic race appears subsequently in the great political development of our race, as compared with the Iranians.

D.

PHILOSOPHICAL DEFINITION OF CHINESE, TIBETAN, AND
KHAMISM, SEMISM AND FINNISM, AND LASTLY OF ARISM.

THE Egyptian is a very early point in the development of the primitive Semitico-Arian language, which died out in primeval Asia, but became fixed in the valley of the Nile, and thus has been preserved to us.

On comparing it with the oldest Turanian formations, the Botiya, for instance, we find it considerably further advanced. If, on the other hand, we compare it with the historical Semitic languages, it will doubtless appear much less developed, although the affinities between them are so close that it may be regarded as the stage immediately antecedent. The Semitic, again, and the most advanced Turanian formations, as links in the general development, are the two immediate antecedent stages of Iranism, from two different poles, which may be described geographically as the south-western and the north-eastern Asiatic element.

The following, therefore, are the principal series of linguistic formation :

- A. The inorganic radical language, or word-stem or particle language, *Chinese*.
- B. The oldest Turanian formations, or *Tibetan*.
- C. The oldest Semitico-Iranian formations, or *Khamism*.
- D. The last antecedent stages: the western or *Semism*; and the eastern, the most advanced Turanian formations, *Finnism*.
- E. The harmonious humanised formation of the organism of language, or *Arisism*.

These five historical phenomena, however, really represent the great stages of one single development. The first, the inorganic language, is the root, the general foundation, the nature or substance, which is made use of by the intellect. The others form the stem, with four knots or stages.

A. is the inorganic language without forms, in which every syllable is a word; every word conveys an entire proposition, and is consequently a sentence.

B. is the agglutination of these full words into the unity of a word as a part of speech, in which the kernel (the noun or verb) remains unaltered. The mark of

vitality, therefore, is the unity of the tone or accent of the word.

C. is the appearance of affixes and prefixes, even of endings (pure formative syllables) attached to the root. The latter is so far affected that its long vowel becomes a short one.

D. is the further extension of the mode in which the root is affected, especially in the inflexion of the personal relations of the verbs: there, and in the expression of the copula, the personal pronoun predominates, not the verb substantive.

E. is the complete symmetrical organism, the perfect instrument of the consciously creative mind, unfettered by subordinate and therefore one-sided formation, and it rises to the most perfect syntactical arrangement. Conjugation and copula are expressed by the verb substantive.

We must, however, now realise to ourselves the fact that from each of the points after A., between B. and E., many intermediate offsets may have diverged from the common stem. Each of these derivative formations consequently will appropriate to itself one of the above stages, that is, B. C. or D., as an exclusive unconditional basis, and throw out from it a special formation, which can only be computed in the entire series as a byway from the next stage or knot of the general development. Now, as languages of this kind take as their basis a formation which is entirely one-sided, no grand and symmetrical development can arise out of them. They are excrescences, and form at the utmost an episode in the drama of humanity.

In this way we obtain a series, the Algebraic formula for which will stand thus:

	A.				
B. —	Ba,	Bb,	Bc,	Bd,	&c.
C. —	Ca,	Cb,	Cc,	Cd,	&c.
D. —	Da,	Db,	Dc,	Dd,	&c.

In dealing with the reality we find ample reason to subdivide these again, as: Baα, Baβ, &c. And thus, perhaps, we get out of one quarter of the globe into another, and arrive at what appear entirely independent formations. But the great organism, which proceeds regularly on by the direct road to E., never takes more than one single vast step from one principal knot to the other.

This, it must be admitted, simplifies the problem considerably, and light begins to dawn upon our path. For our purpose we may leave all the other linguistic formations alone. If we can obtain a date for C., and from thence go back up to B. and A., and down to D. and E., the line thus approximatively obtained will represent so far at least the real age of mankind, that extreme errors will be avoided as impossible, and there will be certain limits to the points of uncertainty.

Now, the earliest determinable knot in the true historical series is in Egypt. The series, of which the Egyptian is a link, must, however, be tested by farther research. In the first place, the test of the calculation from above must be made by calculation from below, and *vice versâ*. The calculation from above must tally with what we know of the Chinese and oldest Turanian formations, and that from below with the history of the two great historical families of language, the Semitic and Iranian, which are the only languages we can trace historically, with the exception of Egyptian.

Is it possible for us to find a farther combination, and at the same time a closer limitation, by the aid of astronomical computations and the application of historical checks?

E.

HISTORICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL CHECKS FOR THE AGE OF
THE HUMAN RACE.

WE take for granted two points in early history and two in chronology, which we shall discuss further hereafter. The historical assumptions are —

First, that mankind had a geographical starting-point in the now desert region, on the northern slopes of the Hindú Kush, and its continuation to the Taurus and towards the open Polar Sea, in which the Ural was then situated as an island or peninsula. The eastern limit was formed by the Altai, or the Celestial Mountain of the Chinese ; the western by Ararat and the Caucasus. From the eastward the Oxus and Jaxartes flowed through this Garden or Paradise ; from the westward, the Upper Euphrates and Tigris.

Secondly, that a vast catastrophe, by the operation of water and fire, produced in this region wide-spread desolation, by which the Caspian Sea and Ural Lake were formed. With this was combined a vast change of climate, by which a country then blessed with a moderate temperature and a productive soil became, in some parts so cold as to be uninhabitable, in others burning hot and unproductive. This change in the primeval abode necessarily produced a vast disturbance and movement among the populations. In these two main particulars, as already remarked, the Hebrew account in Genesis, and the Bactrian one in the *Vêdidâd*, coincide.

Now, as regards dates, the accounts in the Bible imply, in the first place, a very high antiquity and progressive civilisation in that primeval world. The catastrophe, as being the earliest and oldest strictly historical reminiscence, is found in all the other traditions. It is preceded by an earlier world, a real age, although no accounts of it have come down to us. The result of criticism goes to prove, however, that we cannot com-

pute by the ordinarily received chronology the interval between the above starting-point of the present life of man and the oldest conquests in Asia, those of Nimrod; or the interval between them both and Abraham, the first historical personage in the Semitic reminiscences.

On the other hand, the period of 21,000 years, which has been adopted by all the greatest astronomers of the day for the deviations in the earth's axis, brings us to two resting-places. The consequence of these deviations is a change of the proportion of cold and heat at the poles, the greatest of which gives eight days more cold or heat.

At the present time, in the northern temperate zone, spring and summer are seven days longer than autumn and winter; in the southern hemisphere, consequently, the proportion is reversed.

In the year 1248 this favourable change in our hemisphere had reached its maximum, namely, eight days more warmth, and therefore the same number of days less cold. Consequently, after a gradual decrease during 5250 years, in the year 6498 the two seasons will be in equilibrio; but in the year 11,748 (5250 years more) the hot period will have reached its lowest point.

Now, if we calculate backwards 5250 years from 1248, we shall find that in the year 4002 B.C. the two seasons must have been in equilibrio in our hemisphere. In the year 9252 B.C. the cold season had attained its maximum. The opposite or most favourable division of heat and cold took place, therefore, in the year 19,752 B.C.

This epoch explains very simply the reason why the north pole is surrounded with perpetual ice only from about the 70th degree; whereas at the south pole it is found at the 65th. In other words: the history of progressive human civilisation with which we are acquainted is comprised within one hemisphere, and under climatic accidents the most favourable to its advancement.

Now as we must suppose that the date of the com-

mencement of our race was the most favourable both for its origin and continuance ; and as, on the other hand, the catastrophe which we call the Flood would have occurred at the most unfavourable period for our hemisphere ; that epoch, the central point of which is the year 9250 B.C., would seem the most probable one for the change in the climatic relations.

This assumption is confirmed by the most ancient monuments and traditions. The chronology of Egypt shows still more clearly than the traditions preserved in the Biblical book of the Origines, that the Flood of Noah could not have taken place later than about 10,000 years B.C., and could not well have taken place much earlier.

The only question therefore is, whether the history of the human race, and consequently the origines of the primitive world, date from the above-mentioned favourable epoch about 20,000 years B.C., or whether we are justified in going back to the last epoch but one, or about 40,000 years B.C.

Every thoughtful investigator will admit that nothing short of absolute necessity will ever drive us to extend so far the point of time which, with the exception of the formation of language, is without a history.

Any one who looks for a period of time in which reason may be developed out of un-reason, will be no nearer his object by such an extension. It requires no immeasurable period to explain the varieties in the races of man. There are, however, changes which can no more have taken place in 30,000 years, or even as many millions, than they can in 10,000. No length of time is sufficient to create a man out of a monkey, because it never can happen ; for it is a logical contradiction to suppose the growth of reason out of its opposite. It is, however, in strict analogy with nature, that in a recent organism impressions and tendencies should be stamped on bodies ; and that in course of time, in the absence of any admixture, these should become typical, and remain,

as it were, stereotyped. There may have been a starting-point in time when types of this kind were formed. As is generally the case in animal organism, so it frequently happens in the human development, that many points become fixed which were formed as special deviations from the normal condition out of a transient state. But why should this starting-point be 30,000 years or more prior to the above catastrophe, instead of 10,000?

So it is with the greatest of all transformations, the gradual formation of inorganic language, and the first growth of the organic out of it. This certainly requires a considerable period of time; but it is not very clear why from five to eight thousand years are not sufficient to arouse some race to make a successful effort to break through a system which had become incurably rigid. Monkeys may have existed millions of years, not man; he must have left traces of development and creation behind.

F.

APPLICATION OF THESE ASSUMPTIONS TO THE EGYPTIAN EPOCHS.

ACCORDING to the above, we have here the following epochs for the time prior to Menes; and we assume 45 generations (1500 years) to be the shortest possible duration of each of these periods, 90 generations (3000 years) as the longest.

I. Primeval Time.—Formation of Language: formation of Khamism as to stem and language (from 1500 to 3000 years): period of the formation of pure picture-writing (thought-writing).

The latest starting-point	9,500 B.C.
The highest	„ 15,500
Mean date	- 12,500

- II. Transition Period.—Formation of Mythology: age of Egyptian ideographic characters up to syllableism: formation of Osirism (from 1500 to 3000 years).

Latest starting-point,	8,000	(9,500—1500)	B.C.
Earliest	„	12,500	(15,000—3000)
Mean dates	{	11,000	(12,500—1500)
		10,500	(12,500—2000)
		9,500	(12,500—3000)

- III. Political Commencements.—Formation of Nomes: constitution of districts (syllabico-alphabetic Phonetism): formation of the hieroglyphic characters with a syllabarium, up to the invention of the alphabet (1500 years).

Starting-points, 6750, 8000, 9000, 9500, 10,700 B.C.

- IV. Double Government—Upper and Lower Egypt: formation of a constitution: continuation of alphabetism, and progressive advance in phonetism (from 1500 to 3000 years).

- V. Commencement of the reign of Menes.—The empire of Egypt, formation of the empire, about 3700 B.C.

It is clear that the limits of each of the four periods which precede the establishment of the empire by Menes, as proved both by history and chronology, must be considered as subject to fluctuation. Whatever additions it may be necessary to make to one period will be taken from the amount of the preceding or succeeding. The above epochs must be regarded, as a whole, as the necessary stages of progressive civilisation; and of such a kind, in truth, as are reckoned, in the case of general history, according to the unit of generations or centuries.

G.

LIMITS OF THE DURATION OF EGYPTIAN EPOCHS PRIOR TO MENES, ACCORDING TO EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS, RECORDS, AND TRADITIONS.

FROM what has been already stated, entirely irrespective of the series established on general philosophic grounds, the following approximate dates, deduced from the traces of early Egyptian development, would seem to be the lowest possible, and the most probable :

	Years B. C.	Genera- tions.
I. Menes.—Commencement of the idea of Egypt as an empire - - -	3500	
II. Dualism.—The date of the consolidation of districts into two countries, “Upper and Lower” Egypt -	1500	45
III. Date of the institution of Nomes.—Date of the formation of the 27 Nomes, or districts - - -	1500	45
IV. Osirism.—Formation of the religious individuality.—Origines of Egyptian life and age of picture-writing	1500	45
V. Khamism.—Formation of the Egyptian language as a primitive Asiatic deposit of not yet individualised Semism and Arism - - -	1500	45
Making altogether, before Menes	9500	180

Hence the latest date at which the commencement of Egyptian life, the immigration from the Euphrates district, can have taken place is 9580 B.C., or about 6000 before Menes.

But the empire which Menes founded, or the chronological period of the Egyptians as a nation down to the

end of the reign of Nectanebo II., comprised, according to our historical computations, very nearly thirty-three centuries, or a hundred generations.

In reality there were disturbances, especially in those early times, which must be taken into account. We have calculated the lowest possible date to be 6,000 years, or 180 generations before Menes. Were this to be doubled it would assuredly carry us too far. A much higher date, indeed twice that number of years, would certainly be more conceivable than a lower one, considering the vast amount of development and historical deposit which existed prior to Menes. It can be proved that but a few centuries after his time everything had become rigid, not only in language, but also in writing; which had grown up entirely on Egyptian soil, and which must be called the very latest link in that ancient civilisation.

Now if instead of 6,000 years we reckon 4,000 more, or about 10,000 years from the first immigration down to Menes, the date of the Egyptian origins would be about 14,000 B. C.

Referring this back to the astronomical epoch above described, according to which the Flood of Noah and the catastrophe in Southern Asia occurred about 9,250 B. C., this gives the highest probable computation. For the Egyptians, a people celebrated for their faithful ancient reminiscences, knew nothing of that stupendous event, the climatic centre of which was in the 10th millennium B. C., but which was assuredly many hundred years in operation.

Now, after what has been already advanced, no further proof is necessary that these strata are really found in the primeval history of Egypt, or that they succeed each other in the order indicated above. But as regards the individual dates, we have put that of Menes lower by a few centuries, in order to be able to start from the half of the millennium, and indeed in order to select the

lowest possible assumption; for the true date (3,623) is more than a century higher.

In respect to the second assumption, the duration of the existence of the double government, we have followed the dates of Manetho, already discussed in the first volume, and a more exact analysis of which will be given in the chapter on Mythology. According to them we have most unquestionably "human kings," or princes, about whose reigns there were extant traditions in four series:

	Years.
Sacred Kings (sacerdotal princes) - - -	1855
Secular Princes, not otherwise designated -	1817
Memphites, or kings of the Lower or Northern Empire - - - - -	1790
Thinites, or kings of the Upper or Southern Empire - - - - -	350
Altogether before Menes, human princes -	5212

Now, we will assume:

1. That the Thinite princes in the Southern Empire were contemporaries of the Memphites, and consequently they will not come into the series;

2. That the Memphite date represents a sum made up out of the dates of all the reigns, consequently only about 1,500;

3. That the oldest series belongs to the era of the Nomes, and perhaps goes down as far as the date of the formation of Osirism.

Even upon these assumptions, which contract the length of the chronology as much as possible, the result is that the shortest possible duration of the whole of the second and third epochs conjointly is three thousand years.

We shall arrive at the same result, however, in respect to the two oldest of these epochs, if we examine them in closer detail; which will be done when the circumstances of the primeval world are investigated.

SECTION II.

OUTLINES OF A METHOD FOR FINDING THE PLACE OF
EGYPT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION.

A.

THE PECULIAR DIFFICULTIES OF MYTHOLOGICAL
RESEARCH.

ETYMOLOGICAL research, and the comparison of words in different languages, appear in the history of the human intellect not unlike the shipping of the ancients between Scylla and Charybdis. Nothing short of the resolution of Ulysses, who caused himself to be fastened to the mast, and his ears to be stopped, can prevent our being led away by the siren-song of similarity of sounds, and a delusive combination of images. Any one who yields to this seduction is lost, and will assuredly, sooner or later, strand his vessel on the rocks of absurdity. The same fate will attend the comparative physiologist who discovers in different animal formations the identity of the developing type. But here the individual races and species are so strongly marked by their unchangeable qualities, and by the unmistakable distinctness of their habits and whole character, that the fantastical investigator is either driven back upon the divine reality, or is condemned at once by sound human reason. Languages, on the contrary, which are the creation of the intellect, must submit to every sort of fanciful handling; and it is more difficult to obtain a verdict of infallible reason from our contemporaries against such absurdities,

especially when the subjects of them are foreign and dead languages. In this case the only preservative against unscientific blunders and perversity consists in adhering to sound principles, to the adoption of a clear method, and to unflinching honesty.

In mythology, however, the comparative investigator is subjected to still greater temptations and dangers.

If the aim of language be to distinguish, according to their species and kind, those phenomena which in the actual state of things are continually varying, and when so distinguished to fix them by words—mythology, on the contrary, endeavours to exhibit the unity of phenomena apparently distinct. Its aim is to abolish all distinction and limitation of the Finite, and thus to show the existence of the Unity in all manifestations of life. It keeps the distinction between individual things out of sight, and attempts to reconcile the contrast between the Finite and Infinite itself. The distinction between man and woman, between cause and effect, must be abolished, in order to show a universal unity. The great object is to effect a union between the Divine and Human, between Spirit and Nature. Language, again, necessarily advances by means of transitions; mythology frequently by jumps and contrasts, and even adopts altogether new beginnings. A religious difference produces an entirely new language to express it. Kronos, who eats his own children, is the true picture of mythology. A new religion endeavours to obliterate every trace of its predecessor. But even in a natural organic development the greatest contrasts lie close to each other. A thing which is the object of worship on account of its power, may be held in abhorrence as a hostile agent: a god may sink down into a hero or demon, he may even become a spectre or devil, when the old religious ideas are superseded.

It is no matter of wonder, therefore, that the greatest confusion constantly prevails upon this subject. Even

since Schelling's philosophy has proved that all the formations of mind as well as nature are subject to organic laws, as is now generally admitted by men of science, the philosophy and study of mythology have made much less advance than comparative philology, which is so nearly allied to it. It is difficult to say whether there is greater danger to be apprehended from that treatment of mythology which arises from want of spirituality, or from its excess. The former comprehends nothing at all, the latter misinterprets everything; the former hardly touches the surface, the latter jumbles together and does away with everything historical, in order to carry out some erroneous or one-sided idea. Even in the investigation of details, the student of mythological antiquity is driven on dangerous rocks. He is almost at a loss to comprehend the spirit of mythology, which seems indeed to him for the most part to be something of a heterogeneous character. While the one scorns and ridicules riddles which convey to him no meaning, because he does not comprehend that they are riddles, and in fact not merely ethical but metaphysical riddles also; the other is, on the contrary, intoxicated by the deep thoughts about the God-seeking and God-creating soul flashing before him, and is thus rendered incapable of taking a sober view, and exercising sound criticism upon what has been transmitted. He is at the same time very naturally overpowered by the sensation of being engaged in a sanctuary, the divine power of which has been in operation upon all that is profound and elevated in civilised nations, during many perhaps great and glorious periods, for centuries or even thousands of years. He is drawn by the noblest sentiments of his own breast into those unfathomable depths where religion and worldly wisdom, philosophy and fiction, all meet in worship. He gazes, not without inmost excitement, down into the depth of serious meditation in times long passed away, in which

the soul reads the mysteries of its destiny in the stars, and endeavours to elucidate from its own especial consciousness the laws of the visible world.

Even in the later times of Greece, when philosophers and Christians denied there was any virtue in the faith of their fathers, we see men of noble minds and great scholarship, in their interpretations of the ancient myths, seized with this intoxication, in which fancy and speculation supplied what was wanting in tradition, and arranged the detached remains according to their own system. The Stoics commenced in unbelief what the Neo-Platonists continued by force of intellectual enthusiasm. The Christian Fathers took advantage of these admissions, and combated their forced metaphysical interpretations. When, after the long night, the European mind began again to turn its attention to history and reality, Bacon contented himself with playing with the myths of Greece and Rome in order to draw from them ethical and political ideas. Anquetil du Perron was the first who displayed a lively interest in Indo-Median speculation combined with the earlier mythology of these our Iranian kinsmen. But when Schelling's philosophy of the final identity of Spirit and Nature had given the key to the fictions of the ancient world, Frederic Schlegel led the way in awakening an almost religious enthusiasm for the pantheistic wisdom of the Brahmins, as the foundation of all the deeper religious lore of the Old World, especially of Greece. Men of deep thought, seized by an intellectual intoxication, threw themselves into the study of the Eastern myths. Thence they sought a solution of the enigmas of the Old World, and announced astounding revelations. But, after jumbling together what was ancient and modern, they represented symbolical and historical, thought and image, a compound of ancient and modern speculative formulas, as being the oldest religion and wisdom of the East; whereas others saw in it at most a pæan of the intoxicated imagination

of a German prophet. They forgot, however, that the Arian branch of language is the youngest of all those of the civilised world ; not to mention that the Brahminical books are later products of the Iranians after their emigration. In reference to Egypt, too, they forgot that the Semites must have exercised a strong direct influence both upon it and upon the civilisation of all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. It is therefore not to be wondered at if this tendency, which Creuzer placed upon a more learned and sensible philological footing, and wisely restrained within proper limits, called forth a strong reaction. This criticism, nevertheless, which had acquired great reputation in consequence of Hermann's and Lobeck's ingenious researches, was confined, as well as that of Voss, mainly to the negative side. Otfried Müller, Welcker, and Gerhard were the first who, adopting Creuzer's fundamental views of the importance of the myths, introduced a middle course for the study of Hellenic fables.

But there is no mythology which has been so long and so strongly affected by the fluctuations in the philosophic mode of treating it as the Egyptian.

Pythagoras and Plato, and many others of the old Hellenic thinkers, as well as Hecataeus and Herodotus, were attracted by the singularly sensuous picture of the Egyptian Pantheon, and were thus induced to compare it with the Hellenic. But even they were deficient in general historical conceptions. The Alexandrians entered upon the examination of the questions relating to this subject after the separation between faith and science had been made, most of them indeed embittered against the Pagan priesthood, who endeavoured to bring back into their own clutches the falling Old World, and vainly hoped to satisfy the thirst for truth by external ceremonies, which were dressed up again for that purpose. This feeling went so far as to deter them from entering deeply into the subject. It was only the dis-

ciples of the Neo-Platonic school, like Jamblichus and Porphyry, who had any taste for these antiquarian pursuits, and they saw everything in the light of their own speculative views. Their Euhemeristic opponents did the same. But even the Christian Fathers were disconcerted. Then came the Dark Ages. The only hope of rousing the public to make researches which should be really productive was in a thoroughly profound investigation of the human mind and of history on one side, and the great discovery of Champollion on the other.

Our method, therefore, will be based entirely upon what has been advanced and proved in the First Book. We have there stated the facts of Egyptian mythology, exactly like those of language. Here it will be necessary to consider, from an historical point of view, the results of these facts, regard being also had to what has been since discovered by my own researches and those of others. But even the most complete elucidation of the facts in Egyptian mythology would be of no more avail for the comprehension of it, than the alphabet is for understanding a poem. The old questions recur again with redoubled force. What is the meaning of these hieroglyphics of the Egyptian mind when absorbed in sacred subjects? What was their starting-point, and with what purpose were they followed up? What is the place they occupy in the development of the religious ideas of mankind? Can it be shown that the basis of their strange polytheism was a Divine Unity? What is symbol? and what idea? What was the original sense, and what interpretation? What is signified by the death and resurrection of Osiris? Was the immortality of the soul really first taught by the Egyptians, as all the ancient authorities have stated? and in what sense? Have the hieroglyphics only taught us this, that we have not merely learned nothing positive about it, but that we never can learn anything?

Such, indeed, is Professor Schwenck's opinion, and so thinks everybody who knows nothing about hieroglyphics, or only just enough to give up all study of them, instead of abandoning his own exploded system.

In order to answer these questions according to the standard of our present monumental knowledge, we must first consider the general elements of mythology, especially those of theogony and kosmogony.

B.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL ELEMENTS OF MYTHOLOGICAL FORMATION, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF THE THEOGONY AND KOSMOGONY OF THE ANCIENTS.

IN all the natural religions of the civilised nations of the Old World the idea of the Godhead and of the world is expressed, both as regards worship and doctrine, or mythus, by symbols. Mythology is dogma in a pseudo-historic form. But, then, metaphysics exhibit the theogony or doctrine of the origines. It is obvious that the latter may be based upon either of two assumptions; either the doctrine of the origines is really the starting-point of mythology, or it is its rationale: a theory devised or composed after the mythological circle had been formed out of individual deities, myths, and festivals, and had taken a different shape in different localities, and among different races. It is very important to decide this question: first, in order to understand the individual myths; and, secondly, in order to determine the date of the theogonic systems or fictions. We will first examine the mythological ideas and symbols, in order to come to a clear understanding upon this head.

As regards the ideas or thoughts themselves which are to be brought under our notice, they have reference either to the universe or to the soul. They either pro-

ceed from a view of the universe and the phenomena which exist in it, or from the study of mankind and its history. The former constitutes the objective basis, that is, the physical element ; the latter, the personal or psychical element. The spirit of mythology starts with the assumption that the two are identical, or that there is an internal connexion between them. It also implies, not merely that the phenomena of the external world are mastered by language generally, but also that an organic language has been formed out of a language of word-stems. The formation of nouns, with grammatical differences of gender, is the Mythology of Things. Things, indeed, are no more masculine and feminine than is the Deity. In like manner, the actions which are ascribed to things, as if they were persons, are nothing more than a travesty of primitive mythology. This poetry of language is antecedent to Mythology Proper, and, in truth, goes step by step with it. Contemporary with inorganic language is the contemplative, but not personifying, view of the universe in its unity. In that age, the so-called Heaven is the symbol of the eternal thought of creation. Mythology, in the strict sense, implies organic languages with parts of speech ; the mythological genealogies of the gods are a continuation of the genealogy and personification of things.

This analogy is based upon the essence of language and religion. As language is the religion of things, so is religion the language of God to man. Mythology, with its histories of the gods and fictitious personalities, is the poetry of the progress of religion in the world ; as the distinction of genders in the noun, and of moods and tenses in the verb, is in organic languages the utterance of the mythology of the apperception of separate things.

The ideas of mythological religion are not represented as thoughts, but as beings in which certain original powers are inherent, physical as well as spiritual ; for

viewed in this light they are inseparable. The mythological view is the original epos not yet separated off, and the original drama of mankind. Something which exists to eternity, but not yet manifested in time, must be employed to represent that which lives in the human soul. A history is narrated which terminates in reality, and this reality is the universe, and man who finds himself placed in it.

Thus the first song of this epos describes creation, the beginnings of the world and of mankind. Now, if the contemplative mind at this stage of consciousness rises to these beginnings, it becomes an essential requirement, an internal necessity, which is directly connected with the artificial tendency to representation inherent in it, so that it conceives and represents as personal beings the forces and matter, or matter and forces, which are assumed to be dominant. The matter is animated by force, the force incorporated in matter; like soul and body, they are internally united with a personality; or they are broken up into a contrast, like beings (wife, sister, brother) allied by marriage or consanguinity with each other; or the one is considered to be derived from the other, and they are consequently viewed as father and son: for instance, air and wind, ether and fire, heaven and earth, land and sea, mountain and plain, each of which is represented as a personal being. In like manner, also, time and space, in which they move, may be conceived as the personal power of a conscious will; in fact, all the spiritual forces and properties which are transferred from the human soul into the Divinity. Or it may be better expressed thus: The forces which are recognised or felt to be divine and eternal are represented as individual beings. Here, then, in the first place, the love and attachment of beings are exhibited, sympathy and kindness of disposition: in like manner their opposites; hatred and antipathy, hostility and ill-will. Nothing is ascribed to these dominant beings but power

and strength without distinction, either unqualified, or restricted within certain limits. It is the fundamental law of mythology, that each power is a being, each being a power.

C.

THE DIFFERENT THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTIONS OF MYTHOLOGY.

DURING the infancy of philosophy and history, all the above phenomena are either estimated from a religious point of view, as being the true or erroneous representation and doctrine of divine things, or else from a sceptical point of view, which is either rationalistic or material.

Viewed in a material sense, all conceptions of the Infinite are merely a misunderstanding of the Finite; the Soul itself, when regarded logically, is merely the unity of the impulses of the external world through its sensational qualities. The rationalistic view sees nothing in mythology but the apotheosis and poetical idea of nature and human history. The latter must unquestionably be considered the most shallow and simple. According to it, not only mythology, but religion itself, must be a misunderstanding. Under this system, however, divine worship is implied in all these images and symbols, although the original of their representation is repudiated.

Sound philosophy, as well as profound research, has long since taught us that all these formations and personifications would be as impossible as those of language, if the idea of causality were not inherent in the human mind, and indeed that of the highest unconditional cause, the creative conscious spirit. All Polytheism is based on Monotheism; idolatry implies religious feeling. The root of idolatry is unbelief in spirit as well as

goodness. The origin of this unbelief, however, is selfishness ; its aim being to draw divine things into itself, or to set itself up above them. For this same selfishness induces man, when contemplating the world and the soul, to separate power from goodness, truth and justice from reason and conscience. Idolatry is based upon the deification of self. A true Monotheism is so far from being based upon an unconditional separation of God and the world, that it would be rather correct to say that it consists in the inseparable union of the two. But it is also connected with a twofold faith : faith in the unity of truth and goodness, or, to use the language of Kant, of theoretical and practical reason, and faith in mankind, i. e. in the overpowering attractive force of the Deity as the highest and eternal good, and in the free agency of man, by which that good necessarily is realised in time.

And here we touch upon the dangerous phase of Polytheism. Religion (in the general sense) is distinguished from morality, because God is considered as separate from goodness, reason from conscience.

The only divine quality in Holy Scripture, in the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel, consists rather in the fact of its confirming that unity, than in its teaching it, or, rather, starting from it. The internal conception of that unity is limited and veiled in the Old Testament, because its object was the spiritual education of the Jewish people, and through them of mankind ; to extricate them from the power of nature over conscience. The Old Testament represents the moral law as the highest law, without, however, representing love as the unity of the whole law. The realisation of the moral law in the Old Testament is burdened with the curse of externality, through the predominance of ritualistic forms and ordinances. The limitation and negation are only removed, and the curse expiated, by Christianity, that is, through the life and the teaching of Jesus.

Mythology, therefore, or the primitive epos and primitive drama of mankind about divine things and the origines of human events, is a poem constructed out of primitive ideas, out of reminiscences of the earliest world and individual experiences.

As religious consciousness is not a thing acquired, but self-producing, so the above formation follows as the necessary corollary from a primitive impulse, which may be kept down or obscured and subdued, but not destroyed.

The case is the same in Theogony. It is based in part on the unconscious thought of the creative Deity, in part on the individual formations of gods, on worship, and the celebration of them in myths. Before proceeding farther, it will be better to glance at the actual state of the facts.

D.

THE FACT OF THE ASIATIC ORIGIN OF THE EGYPTIAN AS WELL AS THE HELLENIC LANGUAGE, AND OF THE GERMS OF MYTHOLOGY.

THE result of philology is that the Hellenic race and other Arian peoples held in common the fundamental idea of the Divinity as ether and creator, though it contained likewise some Phœnician elements. But, as regards Egypt, it also proves, when compared with older religious records and monuments, that Semitic roots are found in the names of Egyptian gods, but not the converse, namely, Egyptian roots in the names of Semitic gods. This fact we think we can now carry considerably farther. We hope to be able to show that the Semites invented Theogony for the other peoples, especially for the Hellenes; and that the Egyptians retained, together with the Theogony, the mythology which preceded it, essentially

the same as that which the Hellenes invented for themselves. It is now demonstrable that the epos of Theogony had its origin in Asia, and the tradition of every civilised nation in the Old World bears some relation or other to it; even that of the Jews, although in their case the relation is one of a decidedly theoretical antithesis. The Hebrews abandoned all mythological religion in the time of the patriarch Abraham. Out of the Abrahamites, who had grown into a people in Egypt, Moses endeavoured to form a nation by means of the unity of this religious feeling, as contrasted with the natural religion of the oldest popular tradition, and with that of the cognate and neighbouring races. This, however, was only fully effected by the ordinances of Ezra and Nehemiah after the fall of the kingdom. From that time all mythology and natural religion cease. The "Gentiles," however, the so-called heathen, kept it up, and carried it out to a greater or less extent. The Egyptians, indeed, created a distinct Africanised system upon the basis of the oldest religious consciousness of the Western or Semitic East before its entire separation, by shrouding over and keeping under the old feeling, rather than by identifying themselves with and extending it. The people of Western Asia and Asia Minor, in their fanaticism, pushed to the verge of absurdity or immorality the elements of natural enthusiasm which were contained in the old religion. The Greek misunderstood the tradition, but with a good and holy purpose, because he humanised it from a deep religious feeling. At the same time, he maintained, side by side with religious fiction and symbolism, a political and intellectual reality which is pleasing to God. The further researches in this Book will show the correctness of these fundamental assumptions. But, as regards essentials, they result from the investigations and evidence adduced in the preceding volumes.

We now proceed to the philosophical view of the case.

E.

IMPORT AND CONNEXION BETWEEN THE KOSMOGONICAL,
THE ASTRAL, AND THE PSYCHICAL MYTHS.

WE will now examine a little more closely the three classes of myths, in order to see how far they may be regarded as different stages of the same mythological idea, and whether we are in a condition to explain one by means of the others. The Kosmogonical myth represents the forces and substances which were at work in the origines, without entering very deeply into their nature, their physical phenomena, and their specialties. The Astral necessarily presupposes the Kosmogonical conception. The centres of its contemplation, and consequently of its divine worship, are the different heavenly bodies, especially such as are directly connected with the earth and the life of man, namely the sun and moon; and then the planets and most prominent constellations, or those which are connected with the annual course of the sun. The Psychical, lastly, is no more based on psychological notions than the Astral is on astronomical systems, or the Kosmogonical on physico-chemical axioms. All three, on the contrary, originate, but in very different ways, in the primary impulse of the unsophisticated human mind to worship truth and goodness, as being the real foundation of the world and of life. Man does not regard the Divine as a fanciful device of the imagination, but rather as something beyond the reach of waywardness and change, as eternal law, as objective truth. The unity of the two, indeed, is effected by their palpable realisation in the beautiful.

Hence the Astral view necessarily implies the idea of Divinity, and in so far can never be the original. But it is the original objective symbol. This symbol is combined with the psychical elements by means of

the original aspiration of the human soul to view itself in the Kosmos, and to recognise itself in the Deity. Everything, even the Kosmogonical, is based on a psychological foundation. The Astral is neither the beginning nor end of the mythological thought, although the symbol of both. It is, however, necessary to define with accuracy what portion of it is phenomenal or objective, what psychical or subjective.

It may be that a student in his chamber, or men of dissatisfied mind, would base their faith in the Deity and their worship of him on astronomical appearances, and form a mythology out of shadowy facts of their own observation; but this can never be the case with a people and its leaders. Religion never springs out of priestcraft or out of metaphysical systems, although they both, and frequently in conjunction, work together in it. There is nothing more foreign to the inmost necessities of the soul than astronomical theories about the course of the sun and moon and stars, changes in the hours and seasons, solar and lunar eclipses. It is true that observations connected with these penetrate deep into the life of the primitive world. Civilisation and progress towards political life are inseparably connected with these phenomena, and the unsatisfying comprehension of them.

This, however, is not the basis of religion, but the symbol of the religion already impliedly existing. The basis of this symbol is the consciousness of a Kosmos as the universe, in which man finds himself placed. He marks the undeviating movement of the greater luminaries, especially of the two which operate so powerfully upon the life of the earth and of man: he looks upon mother earth herself with her mighty rocks, her wonderful plants, and active animal kingdom, which is so far removed from, yet so near to, man. With all this, man in the primitive ages, who had to form a notion of Being for himself, was sensible of the living

communion between himself and nature; and recognised, or at least had a secret intuition of, eternal laws which regulate the phenomena allied to those which he feels within himself and observes in others, as being the conditions of human existence.

What more natural symbol, then, could he conceive ideally, than those great kosmical phenomena? Wherever the mythological process has once begun, that is to say, the epico-dramatic conception of the history of creation, and especially of its origines, this symbol will also offer itself; and preeminently indeed in those warm regions which were, and must have been, the cradle of the human race.

Now when once the constellations were regarded as divine beings, and consequently more or less as super-human personalities, that is, as ideal men, there might, and, under certain conjunctures, must, have been a state when the religious contemplation of those starry symbols would gain the mastery over man.

Every symbol has a tendency to be regarded and worshipped as unconditionally one with the idea, and this tendency will show itself with very peculiar force in the astral element. The star becomes God; whoever does not worship it denies God. In like manner the sacred ox becomes God; and every one who refuses to sacrifice to it is godless. In like manner Moloch in the human form; any one who declines to offer up his favourite child to him in the fire is an atheist, and consequently deserving of death.

We may therefore regard all the representations which are formed out of the original religious consciousness, by means of natural phenomena, simply as a degeneration. They may be the consequence of a downward tendency to materialism and externality, or of an intentional sacerdotal delusion and entanglement in astronomico-astrological mysteries, but they can never be a representation of the original.

F.

THE RESULT: INDIVIDUAL RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND POETRY THE BASIS OF ALL MYTHOLOGY: AND THE PERCEPTION OF A MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL KOSMOS THE FOUNDATION OF ALL MYTHOLOGICAL CREEDS.

Now if we revert from the consideration of this tripartite sphere of mythological representation to the distinction, which is its crowning point, between Mythology considered as the formation of separate gods, and Theogony considered as mythology worked up into a doctrine about the origines of God, of the world, and of man, we have before us the two primitive antitheses, the assumptions either that the gods of natural religions are powers invented by man, or else deified men. The second view, known by the name of Euhemerus of the Ptolemaic age, wherever we have been able to find a trace of it, has hitherto invariably turned out to be false. Kosmogonical or Astral deities may dwindle down into demons and heroes, but we never find a human being converted into a deity and made an object of worship. Must not this be the case in Egypt also? In the worship of Osiris there is palpable evidence of the psychical element: the destiny of the human soul in time is ideally represented in it, under and with the symbols of the course of the sun. Osiris, as we shall see, is the ideal manhood, not a human historical individual.

The high position of intellectual human individuality becomes clear, however, as soon as we take a full view of the formation of myths, and of the origin of mythological deities themselves. It is an unmistakable element in myths at the very latest stage of their development. But then, who invented mythology, if not human individuals as the organs of the whole tribe or people? We must abandon altogether the priestly fables about

demoniac possession, and the theosophic stories about magical chimeras. We must abandon also the twaddle of Euhemeristic philosophy, and of the Anglo-French school of the 18th century, according to which it was all due to priestcraft and hierarchical ambition. We must give up the mystical prejudices and terms in vogue with many modern German writers, especially the romantic school, who hold mythology to have grown by magic, as it were, out of some undefined general feeling or popular conviction. There is assuredly nothing more unscientific and unhistorical than to deny the existence of a law of development in the religious idea as a whole; and the assumption that mythology, as we find it, was an arbitrary invention of individuals, mixed up with contingencies, conventional practices, and misunderstandings, and that it only became by degrees as rational, or at least as consequential, as it was possible to make it. But, in truth, there is nothing more mythical than such a mystical explanation. Individuality, which in the eyes of so many German investigators counts as nothing, or very little, in the early world, has never been productive of greater results than in those primitive ages. The popular mind adopted the ideas and symbols of the seers, but it also degenerated into the fabulous and romantic. Those seers, saints, and heroes of mankind would certainly never have given a tone to the popular faith, had they not thought, spoken, and acted more or less as the accredited organs of their fellows. But this will not prevent us from assuming that the kosmogonies, which were the object of popular belief, were as much the creation of individuals as those which, like the theogony of Hesiod, belong to the age of writing. They may indeed have found germs of belief in existence, but these very germs must have been implanted by individual minds. In the mythological age, theogonies were invented as were epic poems in later times. Theogony is just as much the epos of that early

time, as the epos of the second is the drama of the third age. They wrote speculative systems in pictures; they engraved them in the customs and habits of the people, as in after times they wrote them in books and taught them in schools. As the epic poems of Homer penetrated into the minds of his contemporaries, so did the mythological: as philosophers profited by the labours of their predecessors, so did the mythologers. The zenith of the period of which we are treating was anterior to writing, though posterior to language. The phenomena it produced were not the work of authors, but of seers and lawgivers. A national faith was established, as a subsequent scholastic system was. They did not write treatises, but customs, and at most sung hymns at their festivals. The contest was not carried on with the pen in the domain of dialectics, but with religious institutions and ceremonies and dogmas in the domain of nascent life. They preached even with the sword when their passions were aroused, especially when the self-love of the public or of classes seemed to be offended.

This is not the place for discussing the law of development of the elements here touched upon, and the factors of mythological and especially of kosmogonical formation. That portion of it which belongs to this work will be best treated of in the comparative exposition of Egyptian and West-Asiatic religion. To it especially belongs the relation between Osirism, or the psychical element, and the kosmogonical. Such a comparison, however, must be preceded by an authentic exposition of the Babylonian and Phœnician kosmogonies; and it again by a philosophical analysis of the theogonical and kosmogonical myths of the Egyptians themselves.

PART II.

COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EGYPTIAN
LANGUAGE.

THE
PLACE OF KHAMISM IN UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE PROBLEM AND METHOD OF SOLVING IT.

THERE are two modes of treating the beginnings and etymology of a language: the grammatical and lexicographical. But no attempt has yet been made, since the subject was studied scientifically, to investigate all the word-stems and roots of a language as compared with others, not even in Greek or Latin, either by an intercomparison of them, or by the aid of Sanskrit and Zend. Still less can this be said to be the case in Egyptian, as, though we may venture to say that we know all its grammatical forms, we by no means know all its roots and stems.

We proceed therefore to adduce the evidence, in so far as the grammatical forms are concerned, completely, and in so far as the relation to corresponding forms in other languages is definable; but, as regards the lexicographical portion, only so far as an imperfect knowledge of the hieroglyphical language, and the inadequacy of the Coptic without such a basis, render this possible. It is, however, capable of actual proof that our present knowledge is sufficient, not to point out merely a few isolated resemblances, but that there is a pervading analogy between the Egyptian and Semitico-Arian word-stems and roots, both in their points of identity and diversity.

The business of scientific philology is to show that the assumption of there being merely a few words in one language borrowed from another, for instance, Egyptian words from the Semitic, or *vice versâ*, is in-

sufficient to explain the facts of language; and that the notion of there being an accidental and merely apparent agreement is still more inadmissible. The only satisfactory proof of an historical connexion, though ever so remote, amongst the stems, roots, and words of a language, consists in showing that an internal analogy exists, both in the points of agreement and of diversity. It follows from the first rudiments of philology that this sort of proof must always be possible to a certain extent, where there is actual affinity. For languages, especially those of civilised historical nations, have been developed according to organic laws, almost like natural products, free from all caprice; and these laws are to be sought for partly in the specific formation of the instruments of language, partly in the peculiarity of the language-forming mind. The former class of languages remain true to themselves, and their individual formations tend everywhere towards analogies. Our business therefore is to trace out this analogy; that is to say, to discover the law of the relation in which the stems or roots of two, or several, given languages stand to each other. An excellent specimen of these phonetic laws and phonetic relations is given in Grimm's table of the transposition of sounds.² The existence of this analogy in the Egyptian, and its relations to the oldest Semitic and Arian forms and word-stems, will require a different sort of proof from that where the comparison is made between languages which belong to the same family. The proof of this analogy of the Egyptian, in its relations to the oldest Semitic and Arian forms and word-stems, will naturally take another shape than in branches of one and the same family. We shall shortly see that the Egyptian belongs to a totally different age. Here we have to deal, not with roots,

² Outlines, vol. ii. Appendix A. p. 341. seq.

but naked stems, as the particles, though generally mutilated, now are. We have only to deal generally with the comparison between naked stems and simple roots, as in Chinese it is exclusively a question of stems: for roots imply the existence of parts of speech.

The second object therefore to be kept in view, in making such a comparison, must be to determine the age of that stage of language which we have before us in the Egyptian.

According to what has been stated in the former part, the first and lowest stage of an organic formation in language is the particle state, that is, the state in which most of the words of a language still remain in the condition of the original word-stem, or sentence-language. Here every stem may be a noun and verb, but also a particle, which becomes united to a noun or verb, merely by being comprised in the unity of the tone of a word or accent, though neither itself nor the principal word specially defined by it undergoes any change. On the other hand, formative words or formative syllables are still intelligible in the full meaning of their stems, even though the appreciation of that meaning may be dying out.

Here then, according to the above, we have three stages of progress in the creation of forms:

The mere agglutination of principal and subordinate stems.

The formation of affixes (prefixes and suffixes), the stems and their adjuncts being reciprocally affected.

Flexional syllables as pure forms without any real meaning.

We shall find in Egyptian all these three stages, but only the first germs of the last two. Its fundamental peculiarity consists in its being a transition from the first to the second stage; the transformation of stems into

roots, and the affix-like change of the nominal and verbal roots.

With regard to the antiquity of grammatical formations, according to the separate classes of words, we obtain, according to the laws of development just laid down, the following series :

Pure Particle-stems : complete roots capable of becoming definitive words for noun or verb.

Pronominal stems with their corresponding adverbial marks, and indeed

- a. Expression of personal relation (personal pronouns) :
- b. Expression of relation to place (demonstrative pronoun and adverbium loci) :
- c. Expression of general relation by being joined on to the noun (relative pronoun, or status constructus) or by conjunctions :
- d. Expression of notation of number (numerals).

Lastly, as regards the relative age of root forms, we have sketched out in our "Outlines" the actual as well as philosophical proof that the triliterality or bi-syllabism of the Semitic grew out of a biliterality, that is, out of a monosyllabic stem-root. There are not only many instances in which original monosyllabic forms can be demonstrated ; but the very laws of this extraordinary formation, out of which historical Semitism first sprang, can also be pointed out. This partition wall, which was raised by the one-sided shape of the Semitic development between the Semitic and Iranian languages, is therefore for ever broken down. We find, throughout, that the monosyllabic word-stem is the original, and we must now go on from that to show the distinction between the simple and the strengthened form in the syllabic word itself wherever it occurs.

After laying down these general principles, we shall first bring under the notice of the reader the actual

points of agreement in the grammar. We shall examine in detail the formation of word-stems generally, and in so doing call attention to the fact, that the Egyptian exhibits a form of the oldest formation of word-language, and one indeed which is evidently allied with the common root of historical Arian and Semitic.

We will remark in passing that a complete synopsis of the mode of transcript here applied will be found at the beginning of the comparative dictionary in the next volume. It is necessary in a work written for educated readers generally, and not exclusively for linguists, to represent the sounds of learned languages (with the exception of a few Greek words) in Roman letters. In so doing it was imperative on me to adhere as closely as possible to the plan pursued in the former volumes. I have, therefore, adopted Müller's system of indicating every modification of sound, by which its ordinary and organically most natural tone is altered, by the cursive character, which is also most convenient for the printer. It is not advisable to learn new letters or arbitrary points or strokes, which are somewhat difficult to understand, and which it will be found exceedingly easy to forget.

The object of a strictly scientific exposition of the distinguishing sounds of any given language is a totally different one, and may require very different appliances.

It is indispensably necessary also for the advance of scientific philology, that a general agreement should be come to as to the most intelligible mode of transcript. I might, however, go farther, and assert that even for philologers the retention of the Zendic character, and indeed of the Sanskrit, is a great impediment to a wider diffusion, which is so desirable, of those languages and writings. I am, therefore, truly thankful to see publications like that of the "Zendavesta," by Brockhaus, printed in Roman letters.

Any one who has studied language may be supposed to understand the original of the greater part of the Bible, or at any rate to be able to read Hebrew. He is consequently master of Chaldee; but Syriac books, and quotations of Syriac words, ought also to be printed in the same character. For the Ethiopian the same letters might easily be used, and Roman letters for them all.

SECTION I.

PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS OF EGYPTIAN GRAMMAR: THE
PLACE OF KHAMISM AS REGARDS THE FORMATION OF
WORDS AND SYLLABLES.

THE background of the Egyptian language, the state through which it has passed, is the pure particle-language; but it is of that nature which bears already strong impress of the struggle towards polarisation. The original antithesis, which appears in its progress towards the separation of parts of speech, is the antithesis of noun and verb: these two represent the essential parts of a sentence. The noun and verb, therefore, are the two poles, towards one of which every particle specifically tends, without thereby losing the faculty of bearing the opposite signification when in another position. The verb frequently serves for a noun, the noun for a verbal stem. The formative syllables which are joined on to one or other of them (consequently originally words) very soon exhibit the pervading distinction between noun and verb. At the same time syllabic words, which are only used and considered as particles, lose their full meanings as adverbs, and all the parts of speech of the new languages come into existence and take their proper places.

The formative words in Egyptian mark the transition from Sinism to Khamism, from the particle language to the language of parts of speech.

There is no known language of the civilised world which shows us so clearly, so intellectually, and so logically, this transition.

We will notice first the history of the expression of

a proposition, i. e. of the pronouncing of a judgment, by which subject and predicate are brought into the unity of a thought: that is the indication of composition, the copula. We will next give the history of forms which constitute the conjugation of the verb, and then consider what are usually called in our languages, in the widest sense, particles. And first, the verbal determinative words and the relative words. The former are adverbs. Prepositions or postpositions stand on a similar footing with them. They are the determinatives of substantives according to their relations, for the purpose of expressing the possible interrelation between nouns, or their relation to a verb. In the last place come the words which serve to mark the relation between sentence and sentence, or conjunctions.

A.

EXPRESSION OF THE COPULA.

(Compare Vol. I. p. 291. seqq.)

ORIGINALLY every word was a sentence; and the meaning of every word purely objective, yet undistinguished. The particular meaning in a phrase depended on its relative position. The Relation itself was not specifically expressed; for it is the Non-objective, that which the mind supplies to Things. But a time arrived when the mind became conscious of possessing this power. It then coined words as the special expression of that creative act by which it became, in the earliest times, lord of the objective world, and a speaking man. The expression of the copula may tend towards the nominal pole, in which case it will become the primitive pronoun; or it may tend towards the verbal pole, in which case it forms the absolute verb (*verbum substantivum*).

In Egyptian, subject and predicate may exist independently without any connecting word. Yet from the very outset that language displays a remarkable facility in expressing the copula. The following particles are used for it:

AR, prefixed: the third person of the verb to be, *is, are*.

AR, in Coptic *ale*, means to rise up, to approach; therefore to appear = to be (comp. UN). It is also found in Semitic in the word '*hal*', as a preposition, in the sense of towards (versus): stem of the root '*halah*', to rise up.

AU, prefixed: unchangeable, or it may be more specifically defined by pronominal suffixes. It means a hook, and thus is used as a conjunctive particle, just as *vav* in Hebrew properly means a peg or nail. The meaning of this phonetic hieroglyph is to hook, to fasten.

PA, prefixed, and PU after the subject, unchangeable. A pronominal and adverbial root, the original meaning is man: it is used in the demonstrative sense of *this*; and in its weakened form PE, as an article.

UN (Birch reads ÑN') is regularly declined like the verbs, and forms consequently the transition towards flexion: it means to shine, to appear.

So that we have three verbal particles and two nominal particles (pronominal roots): the latter (PA, PU), and one of the former (AR), are pure root-particles; the two other verbal particles may also have suffixes annexed to them. In all of them the meaning of the root is known, and the first at least (AR) is clearly traceable in the Arian *ar*, to go, and the Hebr. '*halah*'.

B.

CONJUGATION.

THE following facts in the history of language result from conjugation in connexion with the purpose we have in view :

- I. The pure root of every verb (the verbal particle) is unchanged in all its persons, numbers, tenses, and moods: its meaning is conveyed by a pronoun, or even by the subject.
- II. The verbal particle receives pronominal suffixes, but without being affected by them in the slightest degree.
- III. Tense-particles (past and future) and mood-particles (the optative and imperative) are put between the verbal and personal particles. The tense-particles are:
 1. The past particle N (pronounced *en*), the weakened form of UN (see above). The idea of appearing is expressed by appearance: thus,
 iri . a = facere . ego = facio;
 iri . en . a = facere . manifestum . ego = feci.
 2. Imperfect past particle HER, over, on the point: thus, au . her, on the point of doing, "was."
 3. Future particle: a compound, AU . R = au . ar = conjunctio versus: AU is prefixed to the subject (pronominal particle) and R to the verb.
 au . a . r . iri = conjunctio . ego . versus . facere
 = faciam (Italian, sono per fare).
- IV. Mood-particles.
 1. Optative form: MAI, prefixed: in the original sense, come! Its sign is the hieroglyph of a man or woman beckoning with the hand: thus,
 mai . rem . i = veni . flere . ego = I would weep.

2. Imperative form: MA, also prefixed: not derived from *ma*, to give, to do. It is an abbreviation of MAI, which is also used in an imperative sense.

mai . fai . fai . bai . i = *veni . volare, volare . anima . mea* = *vola (voles), vola, anima mea*.

In point of meaning it is precisely the same as the optative. For instance in the common particle for to come (*i*):

ma . i = *veni—venire* = *veni! venias!*

mai . i . nan = *veni—venire—nos* = *veniamus*.

V. Participle-particles (see p. 296. Vol. I.):

1. Active: IU and AT (an abbreviation of ET).

2. Passive: UT.

IU signifies as a full root, to come: consequently
un . iu = *aperire . venire* = *is qui venit*
ut aperiat = *aperiens*.

AT means *erigere* = *ædificare*, and *erigere* (sc. *aures*) = *auscultare*:

anχ . at = *vivere . erigere* = *is qui erigit*
vivere = *vivens*.

UT means *exire*, *dividere* (*discerpere*, *exire facere*): consequently,

aa . ut = *adorare . exire* = *adoratus*;

aa . ut . f = *adorare . exire . ille* = *adoratur*.

The Negation-particle (p. 292.), the hieroglyph of which is two arms stretched out in the attitude of repulsion, is the letter N, as it is in all the Iranian languages; its original pronunciation was probably, as in Coptic, a short initial sound: *en* (not with the terminal sound, *ne*). But it is entirely distinct from the verb, and comes at the beginning of the sentence, whereas in Coptic the constant negative conjugation grows out of it, as a secondary formation, which is so natural in the Turanian.

It is, however, no less instructive to consider this historical transition from the nominal side, or in the flexion of nouns and pronominal roots and in the prepositions.

C.

SIGNIFICATION OF FORMATIVE SYLLABLES IN THE DECLENSION OF NOUNS.

(See Vol. I. p. 289. seqq.)

I. THE origin of the sign of the feminine obviously was the declension of something which corresponded to it in the masculine; for the other feminine nouns, which, as such, are united with feminine verbal forms, in general merely represent the pure particle-root. *sen*, brother, is changed into *sent*, sister. The *t* therefore is clearly only the remnant of an independent particle which signifies something feminine, or originally perhaps some individual particle which was coined to denote it. The original form must have been *TA*, a word found on the oldest monuments as a full root (with the verbal signification of giving), and which corresponds to *PA*, the masculine pronominal root, just as *t* is used in Coptic as a prefixed article. In Egyptian it is always suffixed, and pronounced when represented hieroglyphically; for instance, after *Mu* (mother), *Mut*. Again, the goddess of Truth (*Ma*), *Mat*, and *Nut* from *Nu*.

II. The expressions for the dual and plural:

In the dual *TI* (in adjectives *UI*, though rarely met with).

In the plural *U*.

TI is only used to express two things of the same kind, as two hands, legs, or arms; and the only way of explaining it now is, that it is an abbreviation of *t a* = this woman; a person in the feminine gender is considered as something derivative, to which attention must be specially called. For *t a* signifies to hold out the hand, (hence, to give).

U occurs in the Book of the Dead to denote the first person, it is therefore a personal particle, the full meaning of which it is perhaps impossible to explain. But we get at the substantial meaning in its verbal application, as, to combine, to approach. This, applied as a noun, would signify own, or personal.

In Coptic this one original form has grown into a great variety of stronger forms, amongst which are the sign of the plural UI, and the strengthening by means of R (OOR). We find also a sort of internal change (the extension of the inherent sound), which is the prevailing and distinctive form in Arabic. In like manner in Egyptian there is only the simple addition to forms which arise out of the root particles which remain unaltered, and which can still be shown, more or less, to be full roots.

D.

PRONOMINAL STEMS GENERALLY.

THE formation of these is of the highest importance in respect to the historical derivation and place of the language, inasmuch as the identity of the Egyptian and Semitic personal pronouns cannot be disputed, even by those who have the best inclination to do so; and who deny the existence of any historical original affinity

between them, because they cannot explain it by their own limited knowledge of the philosophy of language.

We have already intimated, and have elsewhere shown in detail, that a better acquaintance with the philosophy of language proves this view, which is unsatisfactory in practice, to be necessarily false. The fact here under consideration is indisputable; the conclusions from it must therefore also be so. How could pronominal roots be derived so inorganically from a foreign language, for they are not single casual words, but more closely interwoven into the entire system of the language than any other grammatical form is?

We can, however, really go a step farther, and establish two other points. The first is, that the Semitic form of the pronouns, which is so obviously the predominant one, is precisely that which it must have been organically according to our views of the then undivided state of the Ario-Semitic language. In the lexicographical roots the similarity to the Arian is often as great as it is to the Semitic: that is to say, the general, original, common element stands prominently out. The formation of pronouns involves the existence of full roots, on which, as the conscious mind progressed, it stamped the expression of the intellectual faculties, i.e. caused them to denote something which did not exist in things, but in thought, and the conscious expression of which is the sentence. The second is, that even in the formation of pronouns the contrast between Semitic and Arian does not appear to be unconditional, but of such a character as that there, as elsewhere, it is impossible to overlook or to mistake the original identity.

Before entering into particulars we will endeavour to point out some of the possible circumstances by which the mind may have been influenced in the formation of language at the present stage. Pronominal forms are by no means indispensable in a language. The old full-root language in fact could not possess them, be-

cause it could not express phonetically anything but what is objective, not that which only arises through the thought. The mind consequently finds nothing but full particles in existence, which are sometimes used as nouns, sometimes as verbs or qualificative words, according to their position, bearing, and connexion. In the present case the main object is to give prominence to individuality. This is conspicuous in men and in animals, and consequently they are used to express words; a man or an ox, for instance: or even parts of the body which denote individuality as the essence of the thing; the head, for instance, bones, or body.

But, in the case of one man addressing himself to another, or to several others, the personal relation must be especially marked. The first contrast is between the person speaking and the person to whom he addresses himself, or the hearer: there the mouth and ear are, as shown in my "Outlines," clearly the most general mode of marking this contrast in Chinese.

But the distinction of the Not-I is further marked according as the object addressed, and the object only remotely affected, is different. This produces the distinction of second and third person. The only modes of designation which present themselves in languages are references to the speaker, general designations, as man, or ox, or cow; or special designations, as father, brother, son, servant, master.

But how is the plural of the three persons to be marked? Clearly only in one of two ways. Either very simply by a musical process, the repetition of the word: tree, tree = two trees; tree, tree, tree = trees, many or all trees. Or else proper plural words must be adopted for the symbolical notation of plurality or duality: for instance, to express manifoldness in general, hairs, berries, faggots, waves; or to express duality, eyes, ears, breasts, arms, legs.

Now as the mind makes use of these substantial

words for the purpose of expressing thought and speech, instead of gestures, such as pointing or directing to itself or others, the independence of the particles thus coined is gradually destroyed. They cease to be accented as far as may be, and are elided. The consequence is that they become less intelligible, and therefore require strengthening. The simplest way of doing this is by the method so common and indispensable in Chinese, the apposition of two particles, which, for the object in view, express the same thing, and when combined render it impossible to mistake the meaning. In that case the earlier pronoun conveys the sensation of being a mere formative word, and the same takes place gradually with the more modern one. In this way it may become necessary to mark it by a third, when the second has also ceased to be intelligible.

As the genius of language advances, long pronouns become insufferable. They occur oftener than any other words; and it is intolerable that they should be longer than nouns and adjectives, and yet not denote anything objective, simply the relations which arise through speech. Then comes of necessity a third turning-point: the phonetic contraction of it in pronunciation into a mere formative word, and lastly into a speech-mark, an accentuated algebraic sign.

We must, therefore, repudiate the false spiritualistic notion of personality and its relations being the result of abstract ideas, which are supposed to be expressed by unappreciable sounds. But it is possible that the simplest breathings may be introduced upon mere euphonic grounds as a musical element, especially the sharp I or neutral E, for the purpose of combining consonantal sounds which are worn off. The *Umlaut* or modification of sounds belongs to this category, for which we refer to Aufrecht's article in our "Outlines," and to the valuable pamphlet of Dr. Wahlenberg of Sigmaringen, "On the Influence of Vowels on Vowels."

E.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

I.

THE FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS.

I. ANK, in Coptic *anok*, in Hebrew *'anokhi*, must, from its very formation, be a compound particle. AN is also a part of the word used to express the second person (ANTEK), and cannot therefore indicate the specialty of the first. It is found in fact on the oldest monuments as an independent word, the primary meaning of which is, breaking out, appearing, lighting, beautiful; and it is a very natural way of designating personality. For instance, we find a King An (with the symbol of the fish) joined to the sign of the sun (Ra), i. e. splendour of Ra, shining sun. Heliopolis, therefore, the city of the sun, called in the Septuagint Ōn, probably means simply the shining, appearing, the splendour of Helios. There is consequently no doubt of its being a substantial particle, any more than of the fitness of that independent signification to express personality, as being, in the strictest sense of the word, the Appearing.

But what is K? In the first place EK, a word with an initial sound. But according to all the laws of word-formation it must have had a terminal sound in the root, and the most natural one is KA. This is one of the oldest and most distinctive roots, for it signifies the *male* (*mas*, the man as such), the ox. The probability of its denoting a masculine object is increased by the fact that in the second person, where there is a distinction of gender, ANTEK becomes ANTA in the feminine. ANK, therefore, is AN-KA, shining-ox.

2. NTK—NTA. N (en) is AN abbreviated in com-
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position, the general personal sign to mark this antithesis. K must also be the same KA, and T the distinguishing letter. It cannot be the sign of gender, as it is in the noun, for it is common to both genders. Here, therefore, it must be understood in its nominal application, as the Giving, the Offering (in Egyptian TA, Coptic, ti), and hence the Egyptian word is also used for a crane stretching itself out as it were.

We have therefore

AN	.	TA	.	KA.
(Splendour)	.	Crane	.	(Ox).

Here TA is the determinative, the word which defines the meaning, as K is in the first person. They both occur in Iranian. The Sanskrit word *aham* (whence ego, io, je) retains from the old root the abbreviated *ah* (in Zend, aspirated, *azem* ; in Old Norse, *ek*). The *am* is an offset peculiar to the Iranian, which is used to mark the first person in the oldest Greek conjugation (*mi*) ; we find it also in the Latin *sum*. Originally, perhaps, it was a more general sign of the person.

The T of the second person has been invariably retained : *tuam* (twam) in Sansk., *tu* in Lat., τὺ in Doric (an older form than σὺ), *thu* in Goth. ; *thou* in English, *du* in German. The Indian affirmative *am* might be considered as a weakened form of K ; but it is more probably a new offset, and one of general importance. It does not follow that it is worn down in the other Iranian languages ; they did not possess it in their common heritage. The Semitic forms (see a complete synopsis in my "Outlines," vol. i. p. 247.) *anokhi*—*anta*, *atta*, are identical with the Egyptian. The K is found in both persons ; when used as a suffix, it denotes the second person.

But at what a different stage of development do they here stand ! They are not merely devoid of any etymology, and wholly unexplainable, but were also clearly

as unintelligible to the Semitic mind, as *I* and *thou* are to us, and as *aham* and *tuam* were to the Bactrians.

II.

THE THIRD PERSON.

HERE we come upon entirely new ground.

NTUF, he; NTUS or NTS, she: F and S being suffixes.

The Semitic *hu'* (hva) and its suffix *v* appear to have some connexion with the verb (havah) to be. But the verbal formation is probably the later, and therefore more developed form, as the pronominal construction is in general older than the very abstract Verbum substantivum.

NT, according to the above remarks, resolves itself into AN-TA: the most general way of marking personality, and the specific one of Not-I, here considered as the third person. They are both abbreviations.

We have UF retained in the older form AF. Thus ufa, to punish, is pronounced in the simpler form af, and signifies, flesh, i. e. born from somebody, son; as we have in the Semitic, "flesh of my flesh." The restoration accordingly is (AN . TA .) UF (F), the determinative letter being used, according to the natural law, as a suffix.

The feminine form resolves itself into

(AN . TU .) AS (suffix s).

AS signifies the prominent, and therefore noble, a honorary title of woman, considered objectively.

III.

PLURAL FORMS.

FIRST Person. NN (nen) is now proved to be an old Egyptian form. The Coptic forms are pronounced

anan, anon, anen. It is evidently the expression of plurality by reduplication:

AN . AN.

Second Person. NTUTN, masc. and fem. Semitic, *antem, attem*; feminine, *anten, atten*.

We stated in the Accidence that MTUTN is the masculine form, although with some reserve; further researches, however, have led to the conclusion that it is an exceptional, and, properly speaking, a wrong, way of writing the word; the present inquiry shows it to be so. It resolves itself, therefore, into the following:

AN . T . U . T . AN.

The general person-root AN is repeated, as in the first person. But the sign of plurality is placed between the repetition, which sign we have shown to be U in nouns, preceded and followed by the special sign of the second person (T instead of TA). This formation would lead to the conclusion that two groups are combined:

(AN . AN) + (T . U . T).

The determinative T is retained in the Semitic languages as well as the general form AN, though there is nothing analogous to either in these languages. The final M in Hebrew is connected with IM in nouns plural: it was adopted because N had ceased to have any signification. Here the Arian forms are entirely different.

Third Person. NTSN = (AN . TE) + SeN.

ANT is borrowed from the singular of the third person. SEN forms the suffix of the third person plural.

It has been retained in Semitic, but with a soft breathing (*hem, hen*) and it has no meaning.

F.

THE OTHER PRONOMINAL ROOTS.

1. The Article. PA (ὁ), TA (ἡ), NA (οἱ, αἱ, τὰ). Of these the forms in most general use are PA and TA.

For instance, with a nasal sound at the end, the amplified article becomes the complete demonstrative:

PeN—TeN—APU, hi, hæ, hæc (suffixed).

When strengthened by the addition of UI (the old dual form) it becomes the most simple relative:

PUI—TUI, qui, quæ.

With AI, UI, or A, I, the possessive; with N for the plural:

PAI, &c., TAI, &c., NAI, ὁ, ἡ, οἱ, αἱ μοῦ.

PAIK, &c., TAIK, &c., NAIK, ὁ, ἡ, οἱ, αἱ σοῦ.

PAIF, &c., TAIF, &c., NAIF, ὁ, ἡ, οἱ, αἱ αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς.

and so for the rest (Vol. I. p. 284. seqq.).

To revert to PA; here the underlying independent element is very clear, it signifies man.

The other words TA, NA, &c., are taken wholly from the personal pronominal roots. In the Semitic the root *Pa* has disappeared, except in the Aramaic demonstrative *pun, pon*, this (comp. *pō*, here), which is also suffixed to the main stem.

2. SU, this, the; Hebr. *zu, zeh, zot*. In the Chaldee cuneiform inscriptions, *sa*, who; compare the *sh* in Phœnician and Babylonian in the sense of the Hebrew *asher*, who. Hence, in the above languages, *sh* (the

Hebrew letter *shin*) also occurs as the sign of the genitive; even in Hebrew, indeed in the oldest formations, for instance, in *Metushaël*, that is, *Met . u-sha-El*= Man (the), who of God, the Man of God. There is no known instance in Egyptian of the full meaning.

NIM, the Coptic *nim*, has also been found as the relative pronoun.

G.

THE NUMERALS.

AN examination of the numerals brings us into an entirely new field, and to a different stage of the formation of language. This is indicated also by a remarkable circumstance in Egyptian writing. The other nominal particles that we have analysed are never written ideographically, always phonetically. The numerals, on the contrary, are but rarely written phonetically, and all of them have their ideographic signs. The pronouns, as formative words, belong to a stage of language already so far advanced as to recognise the organic elements of the sentence, and thus owe their formation to the fact of the sense of the full root, the objective word, being thrown into the background. This objective word is the only proper field of figurative representation. The formative words, however, do not represent anything objective, and hence they are proper words for phonetic writing, that is alphabetic, or syllabic writing. The fact of the words for hundred, thousand, ten thousand, expressing objects which are distinguishable by their hieroglyphics, and the full sense of which is also known linguistically, leads to the conclusion that the others which are represented by the

finger and hand (like the Roman) were originally complete words, and denoted objects which stood in a certain relation to the given number. It of course very soon became difficult or impossible to recognise their meaning in consequence of the natural wearing off of the numeral, as the number had only a conventional connexion with the thing represented. From such indications gleaned from language and writing we have only to look in Egyptian numerals for things which come before us sensuously, but we are not on that account to suppose we shall be able to point out any great additional number of them.

It must not be forgotten that down to the present time there is scarcely a single numeral in Semitic or Iranian which has been at all satisfactorily explained. We are also easily satisfied upon that head in our own circle of languages, for we have clearly retained the simple numbers as pure numerals, that is, just like the x and y in algebra. Still, whenever there are compound words and derivatives, the process of the formation of numerals, as we have described it, is perfectly clear. The German *elf*, or *eilf* (eleven), is evidently *ein-lif* (Old English *en-lew*) = one over. The German *zwölf* (twelve) is = *zwei* (two) over; the ten being conventionally omitted. So the German words for twenty and thirty (*zwan-zig*, *dreissig*) are merely *zwei-zig* (two tens); *drei-zig* (three tens). Hundred, *hunda* in Gothic, is derived from the Gothic word *hunda*, for hand; there, must, however, be a doubt about this, for the Latin *centum* and the Greek *hekatón* seem to indicate some other common derivation, and one of a more original character. Thousand, in Gothic *thusundi*, is evidently an abbreviated Lithuanian and Slavish word, and one compounded of two nouns.

But the ordinary German expressions, *schock* (three score, 60); *stiege* (score, 20); *mandel*, 15 (from *mandel*,

a heap consisting of 15 (3×5) sheaves), point in the same direction.

The creative genius of language is always the same. But in a primitive language, the basis of which is substantiality, we must more than anywhere else try to find the above clue. The Egyptians devised a system of writing of the subtlest and most ingenious character. Here we are dealing with something still more archaic, the linguistic symbolism, the phonetic hieroglyph of an ideal relation.

It will further our purpose on this occasion to state the following fact. Of the simple numerals we know now that only four can be traced in Semitic, 2, 6, 7, 8, and but three in Arian, 4, 6, 7, and that merely as to sound. For they cannot be conclusively connected, either in Arian or Semitic, with a full root or independent stem having a corresponding substantial meaning. The common numerals for 3, 10, are only known in Coptic; of which the first alone is found in the Semitic.

SNAU, Copt., two, Hebr. *sne*.

AFT, FTU, Copt. *ftou*, four; (? Comp. τέτταρα, quatuor).

SAS, Copt. *soû*, six; Hebr. *ses*, Sansk. *sas*, Gr. ἑξ, Lat. *sex*.

SFKH, Copt. *sasef*, seven; Hebr. *seba'h*, Sansk. *saptan*, Goth. *siban*, Gr. ἑπτά, Lat. *septem*.

SSNU, Copt. *smun*, eight; Hebr. *semoneth*.

The words for 100, 1000, 10,000, find an easy explanation in Egyptian. They are as follows:

100, Coptic, *se*; according to Birch, the tie or knot with which a bundle is fastened, consequently a collection.

1000, KHA, SHASA; the particle signifies multitude.

10,000, TBA, TB, Copt. *tba*, means finger. The explanation of this hieroglyph will be found at the end of the numerals.

Everywhere, therefore, there is something ostensible, tangible: a substantial particle is proved to be the expression for number.

Now what do we expect to find in the other cases? Undoubtedly worn down roots of the same kind. The result we are trying to deduce here is not intended as proof of the general assumption, which is sufficiently well established, but merely as an instance. We offer it as an attempt to explain the possibility of all the numerals being derived from objective significant words.

- I. UA, Copt. *uai*, *ua*, *ui*, *uōt*: is echoed, perhaps, but not explained in the Arabic word *āhadon*, or in the Zendic *a vō*. BA (pronounced *vha*), soul (the single, in Hebr.), is possibly the person, the I.
- II. NM, root lost; Copt. *snau*; Hebr. *sne*. SNA is the oldest and most simple word for knee: SNA.U would therefore be the knees. But the real derivation may be from the arms, Copt. *znauh*: unfortunately we do not know the Old Egyptian form. A very ostensible gesture (with the hand) may easily be connected with them both.
- III. Soment, sament, *somt*, Copt. This is evidently a compound word. According to the Coptic pronunciation the latter part seems to be ten. In Egyptian, SHASA is used for loaf of bread. We find on the sacrificial tables triangular pointed cakes, and in Nubia the loaves of bread are still of this shape. MNT means a woman's breast, which, represented hanging down like our Det. 51. Vol. I., with three points,

conveys an exactly similar idea (compare the pyramidal-shaped cakes, No. 362., and round cakes, No. 355.): consequently two images of the same kind to make the meaning quite clear.

IV. AFT, FTU, in Copt. *ftoû*, in composite words TAFT. AFT means dwelling, house: "the four posts" is to this day the popular way of expressing house in German. In Egyptian, the contrast between the solid building and the tent of the Bedouin made this regular four-cornered figure of the solid house still more marked. FTU, therefore, instead of AFTU, would be the four corners.

V. TU, or SB, in Copt. *tiu*; probably the worn down or original form of TT, tot, the hand, that general natural sign for the simplest compression of the fingers (comp. *πεμπάζειν*, to reckon, as it were by fives, to tell off by the fingers). Horapollon says that in cabalistic writing the number five was expressed by the hieroglyph of a star, but that does not suit the pronunciation.

VI. SES, Copt. *soû*. This word signifies star in Coptic (*siu*, Egypt. *sb*). This would do for the number six, but the star has never six rays, always five, in the drawings. Since Birch has discovered the ancient form, all derivations from the Coptic one fall to the ground.

VII. SFKH, Copt. *sasef*; Hebr. *seba'h*. It occurs in Egyptian as the name of the wife of Thoth, the Goddess of writing, the scribe of the divine festivals. Her sign is 7 ($5 + 2$) rays, or five rays and two horns, which must be the five planets, together with the sun and moon, by which the festivals and seasons are regulated. Thoth is called the Eighth, as being the soul of the world. The Goddess, therefore, is called the

Seven. This mode of denoting number, however, would only be adapted to a sacerdotal, theological, mystic numeration. Here we have a word which belonged to the original popular language of Central Asia, before it was divided; for the root is common both to the Semitic and Arian languages.

VIII. SESNU, Copt. $s\chi mun$; Hebr. *semoneh*. Lepsius says that the God of Ashmunin (Hermopolis) is called SSN. NU, Sesennu which is the amplified form, meaning the eighth (the highest, the unity of the seven). Perhaps the word is a composition from SS (6) and NM (2): $8 = 6 + 2$. The Coptic form, like the Semitic, is merely one reduced to trilaterality.

IX. PUT, Copt. psit, psis. 90 is in Coptic pestaiū.

X. Mêt, mêt, Copt. MNNU is used in the sense of string, cord, which leads through MNA, to tow a boat, to the measuring-line (a rod of 10 feet), as being the oldest unit of land measure.

The ordinals, on account of their specialities, furnish a more certain test. The particle MH (meh), prefixed to any number after 1, converts it into an ordinal, and can be shown to signify "manifold." "The first" is API, chief, or KHERP, in Copt. sorb, and srp, which is simply KHRP, the leader, princeps.

It is matter of no slight importance to our investigation, to consider the hieroglyphical numeral signs. We know that the signs for unity are single strokes; symmetrically arranged as in Latin, but not formed into the shape of a hand, as in the number five. My conjecture is that this stroke was the conventional sign of the finger, as it clearly is in Roman numerical hieroglyphs. The sign of ten, in general erroneously considered as the horse-shoe, is nothing but the conventional representation of two hands, fastened together at the wrist, hang-

ing down side by side. The hieroglyph for hundred is the towing-cord, SKATI, for 100 is the highest unit of land measure. The Greek word *skhoinos*, *skhoinion*, marks also the connexion between land measure and the cord. The sign for thousand is the water-plant, the lotus, the pleasing symbol of plenty. When we come to 10,000 we have a new unit of reckoning (20,000 = 2 myriads, &c.), which goes on to a million (a hundred myriads), exclusive: hence the sign of it is the finger again. A million is denoted by the frog, the animal which at the inundation appears in countless numbers. Lastly, a trillion (*haa*, duration) is represented by the sign of a man having a palm-shoot on his head, and is the symbol of infinite time. The Egyptians considered that numeration ceased after a million, but a trillion represents infinity.

With regard to the Hieratic numerals, illustrated so clearly and accurately by Champollion, it was remarked in the First Book, that some of them exhibit considerable similarity to the singular kind of notation adopted by our apothecaries and physicians, especially for designating drachms and scruples. A glance at these signs in Champollion's Grammar, p. 213. seq. 220. (comp. 225.), will explain this. The latter of these two quotations from the grammar, will also raise the question whether our so-called Arabic ciphers are not of Egyptian origin. But it seems to me that their Indian derivation is undeniable. The case is different with physicians' signs. No one, so far as I know, has hitherto explained them satisfactorily. The Egyptians, however, were the first apothecaries, and chemistry itself takes its name from the land of Kham (*Khemi* = Egypt). Medicine was practised as a science as early as in the Old Empire. There were primitive, indeed sacred, books, containing medical prescriptions and remedies. These books must have been written in the hieratic

character, which we find as early as the 7th Dynasty. Fractions of a given unit can just as easily be expressed by these signs as whole numbers. The Egyptians retained their reputation for medical skill among the Greeks and Romans. Nothing, therefore, can be more natural than that the Arabic physicians should become their pupils, by which means the signs for writing medical prescriptions were introduced into Europe.

I regret not having had leisure to follow up this question further, as I had intended. But others will soon see whether my conjectures are well founded. What concerns our inquiry is to get a clue to the views on which the Egyptians started in designating their numbers. The method pursued in the hieroglyphical notation may throw a favourable light on the system we suppose the primitive world to have adopted as to the phonetic notation of numbers, which was of a much earlier date.

H.

THE ADVERBS.

THESE represent, generally speaking, the same stage of consciousness, of abstraction, as the affixed and suffixed words, which are the nominal side of the adverbs. Almost all of them have reference to the relations of space and time.

I. Adverbs denoting Space.

1. Place, MA: here. Preserved in Hebrew as pure formative syllables: for instance, *ma-qom*, place = locus surgendi.
2. Facies cœli, HR P: above.
3. Versus anteriora (leonis), R HA . T: in front.
4. „ posteriora „ R PH: behind.

5. In (parte) forti, M N χ T: in front.
6. Versus latus, R SA: behind.
7. M KHEN, in aula, intus.

II. Adverbs of Time.

1. Near, approached, AS: then, there, when (Hebr. *az*).
2. Period, duration of time, AST; also ASTU, with the same signification. ASTU may perhaps be considered as the plural of AST.
3. a. Time (the shooting, hurrying on), TR: since, as soon as.
b. Time (the jumping), SP, only after N (ne, negative): never.
4. Day. HA . U NB: every day, daily.
M P . HA . U: on this of the days, to-day (hodie).
(R.) HH HA . U = (per) multos dies: long time, always (all time).
5. Star, SB (Copt. *siū*): yesterday (last night, like the German word for to-day, *heut* = *hinnat*, this night).
6. Eternal world, TT (tta, eternity, ævum): for ever and ever.

There are only two doubtful words belonging to this class:

χ FT (Copt. *safte*), as soon as, since; and S χ AA (Copt. *s χ a*), twice. According to Birch, the root is KHFT, "facing."

Saa is probably composed of sa . a, which literally would mean, first (rising, advancing) house, i. e. beginning. The German particle *bis* (till, i. e. goal) may have a progressive or retrospective signification. In English the former is the case: from morning till evening means, beginning morning, goal evening. In Egyptian the relation would be simply expressed by morning beginning evening.

III. Adverbs denoting Manner and Mode.

The only one known is the pronoun KHA, khe, Copt. *sche*, in the sense of how, like as ; sometimes also considering that. Its radical meaning is, to measure, to weigh.

I.

STEMS OF THE PREPOSITIONS.

THE full meaning of almost all the prepositions can be pointed out in Egyptian. Originally they denote objects. The best course to make the language generally intelligible will be to treat of these particles according to their original meaning.

1. Appearance, the Appearing: N, abbreviation of AN, from, through, and the usual genitive particle, is known to us as the oldest pronominal root, and has become intelligible by means of its full meaning, appearance, splendour. Its origin also explains why it was used as a preposition. In the Greek *ana*, and German *an*, it is retained in the Iranian as a preposition. The Greek *ean*, if, is notoriously a mere contraction of *ei-an*, if peradventure. Hence *an* has the sense of, "perhaps." The signification, if, occurs in the Arabic, *'in*. There is an approach to it also in *am*, in the sense of if, which in Hebrew is pronounced *'im*. But the termination in M occurs more especially in Egyptian.
2. Place: AM, M, also AM . M. The root is retained in AMA, to put in its place, consequently place, position. Connected with this is HM,

which occurs with personal suffixes : HEMU, those within, i. e. the inhabitants. With the initial sound, AHM, it forms a complete trilateral root.

3. Place : MA, instead, *au lieu de*.
4. Acre, land : AR, as a preposition eR, against, versus; compare the German words *gegen* and *gegend*, *contre* and *contrée*.
5. Heaven : Copt. pe, in its full form undoubtedly pa, only written ideographically : on (super).
6. Footstool : KR, under. Its full meaning cannot now be positively stated : KARA means coffin, KAR means to deceive.
7. Face (hierogl.) : HRA, ideographic; from it comes HRI, HR : on, to (with infinitive).
8. Head : HA, before (ante).
9. Measure : SXA, according to (secundum).
10. Approach, to add to ; Copt. hēn : HNA, with.

The compound Particles are still more foreign to our ideas. As already remarked in a general sense, and as has been further demonstrated in the numerals, it is a postulate of particle language, and of that which grows out of it, to amplify the short and original roots which are worn off. This is done in part by the addition of a synonymous particle, in part by the opposition of kindred ideas. The following list will explain it :

1. Body (KHA) and mouth (AR) = KHAR, KHR : to, towards (versus), until.
2. Back-head : HA, behind (post).
3. Face-head : HRA - GA, above, on, (super).
4. Appearance of the face : N HRA, before (in facie, coram); as in Hebrew, *'hal pnē*.
5. Face of the heart : HRA HT, in the interior (in corde).

6. Face of the mouth : HRA RU, above, upon.
7. Face of the heaven : HRA PE, on, above.
8. Face of the mouth of heaven : HRA RU PE, on, above.
9. Face of the face of the mouth : HRA HRA RU, on, above.
10. Turning aside of the face : HRU HRA (Copt. huru, negligere ; equivalent therefore to negligens faciem=præter, besides that which).
11. In phallo emittente=in facie, in presence of, before : Copt. em tho. This I explain as MTU, from TU (Copt. toë), polluere.
12. In anterioribus (leonis) : HM HA . T = the same (coram, ante).
13. Versus anteriora (leonis) : HR HA . T, coram, ante.
14. (Subsellium) anteriorum (leonis) : KR HA . T, coram, ante.
15. In posterioribus (leonis) : KeR PeH (Copt. pahu), behind (post, in space).
16. In latere : eM SA. after (post, pone).
17. Ante (facies) latus : HR SA, post, pone.
18. Mouth and a hole in the ground, versus locum : R MA = in loco, at, like "au lieu de" = instead (which is likewise formed in the same way).
19. Mouth and face, versus faciem : R . HR, in the sense of *cum*, with. (There is another mode of expressing it in the Rosetta inscription: properly an unmeaning repetition of HR : r . hr . a with me, instead of hr . a.)

K.

CONJUNCTIONS.—EXPRESSION OF THE RELATION BETWEEN ONE SENTENCE AND ANOTHER.

THE conjunctive particles represent the highest stage of the self-consciousness of speaking man. They are based upon the full appreciation of the fact of a sentence being a unity, and are signs of the progressive activity and power of arrangement in the mind.

We can readily understand that there are but few of these particles in Egyptian.

I. Expression of conjunction (and, also):

1. A phonetic group reading, HNA, and; root HN. in Copt. hên, to be added.
2. AU, and, also: concrete meaning, a crook.
3. Member, self, HA: and, also. It marks a new member of a sentence (colon), or the conclusion of the preceding colon.
4. Path, course, HR: and, also: considered as an indication of a new piece or course (something set *upon*). See preposition HRA.
5. A base, something subordinate, KR: complete stem KAR: and, also (comp. prepos. under KR).
6. Other thing, KI (otherwise, in like manner), and, also.

II. Consequence:

1. Being, the under part, KR (see 5. *supra*): therefore, consequently.
2. Being, the face, HRA NTI: because (*parceque*).

III. Disjunction (either, or), KI TeT. It is also used in explanation, as "namely."

L.

PRELIMINARY RESULT OF THE INQUIRY INTO FORMATIVE SYLLABLES AND WORDS.

EVEN though there may be some few instances where the proof is not so obvious and striking as it is in the others, still, the following facts, which are of vast importance to the general etymology and history of the languages of Asia and of the Old World, have been established.

1. All formative syllables and formative words are found as full roots, or independent particles, with a nominal or verbal meaning.

2. Almost all of them can be explained by the substantial meaning of these roots.

3. Several of the formative words occur in Semitic, and even in Iranian; but those languages furnish sound etymologies for none or very few of them.

4. The particle nature of the separate roots peeps out in almost every instance; that is to say, they possess a vital tendency to conjunction, according to which their relative position, the architectonic science of language as it were, alone determines the relation, the external expression of which the formative words are intended to convey. For instance, the genitive case may be denoted by the mere sequence of the dependent noun after the substantive, instead of by AN or N, without either one or other of them being affected phonetically.

Hence in an historical point of view the grammatical formation of the Egyptian is obviously of a much earlier date as compared with the Semitic and Iranian languages. But the tendency towards the Indo-Germanic

system was first awakened in Asia, and gained adherents on all sides. Thus the germs of it are met with in the Khamitic deposit, sometimes of an Arian sometimes of a Semitic character, but for the most part of the latter.

SECTION II.

PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EGYPTIAN VOCABULARY :
THE PLACE OF KHAMISM AS TO THE FORMATION OF
STEMS AND ROOTS.

A.

THE MORE DEFINITE PURPORT OF THE PROBLEM.

I.

ACTUAL STATE OF RESEARCH INTO THE FORMATION OF EGYPTIAN
AND SEMITIC ROOTS.

EVERY sound student of the philosophy of language will admit that the foregoing grammatical inquiry precludes the presumption of the result being the effect of accident. Single foreign words may be introduced, but not grammatical forms. The notion, therefore, of the coincidences in grammar being due to any other cause than a community of origin, both as regards history and family affinity, is quite inadmissible. It is lamentable to see philologists of repute and merit struggling to evade this conclusion, and sheltering themselves behind negative formulas about the fundamental diversity of the great families of language, and similar arbitrary assumptions. If they argued only on these grounds against an unscientific method of treating the subject, they would be perfectly justified. But they seem not to be aware that they are themselves guilty of the utmost disregard to science, not to say of thoughtlessness, when they admit the fact, but demur to the conclusion, because their philosophical knowledge of language leaves them in the lurch. From the moment we see that grammatical forms are merely the earliest roots, the real meaning of which is lost, or at all events obscured by

the progressive steps in language, this is tantamount to saying that the roots of words in the two associated languages which we have compared are the same from the beginning. But this also necessitates the admission of the historical unity of the whole raw material of language.

There is no fact, to a certain extent, of so personal a character as the conversion of a full root into a formative word or letter. A foreign race may adopt single words, but not forms. For forms have no signification, except for the language in which they are stamped: they do not denote separate things, but rather relations, which are repeated at every breath and in every sentence. Numerals only may be an exception at certain stages of development, inasmuch as they are not connected with the other forms, are used almost always arbitrarily, and but seldom.

On the above well-established proposition all true philology, as founded by the Germans at the beginning of this century, is based. But, upon a closer examination into the linguistic facts as now before us, the assumption that grammatical forms are pure matters of fancy, and had no original meaning, will turn out to be illogical and unhistorical. We find suffixes and all other formative particles growing out of stems which have an essential value, just as objectively as flexion grows out of suffixes. It is, lastly, a symptom of obsolete narrowmindedness, for a philologer to admit the relation of mother and sister languages, but refuse to adopt it in more remote stages. Languages are allowed to have a mother and sister, but not a primitive grandmother. The only reason for this is, that such theories have been formed one-sidedly upon the basis either of the Semitic or Iranian languages, or at most of the two together; and more especially because, owing to the prevalence of the Indomania, the Arian, which is the youngest of all formations, was treated as the oldest. It is not to be expected of such eminent and meritorious

scholars as Pott, that they should extend their field of view to the vast domain of Asiatic languages: but, with so many linguistic facts before them, they may be expected to abstain from applying generally formulas which have only grown up in that narrow field, and which cease to be true when pushed beyond those limits. Here again the course we have been pursuing for fifty years is the only correct one, but we must pursue it throughout. This will require a more thorough historical philosophy of language, as well as an extension of philological research, especially as regards Egypt. Unfortunately there have been as yet no speculative philosophers with a sufficient knowledge of etymology to bring the laws of the formation of language within the sphere of their observation, and but few men of philological science who are familiar with the general laws of mind and its creations, and who have investigated thought as such in its own proper domain.

The right mode of conducting an historical work like the present, seems to me to be that adopted throughout—to let facts which have been philologically sifted speak for themselves, by bringing them within the focus of historical investigation.

The first step therefore, in such an analysis, must be that of the process of formation of the Egyptian vocabulary. We possess a sufficient number of Old Egyptian words about which there is no doubt, to enable us to take a closer view of what this process actually was. It is true that this requires much preliminary study, and I will mention here what my own have been in order to prepare myself for the task.

Upon the basis of the dictionary in the first volume, which contains the most numerous list of Egyptian words in existence, and which have been thoroughly tested by hieroglyphical research, availing myself also of the new words which have been discovered since its publication, I have, in the first place, made a collection of such

stems and roots as express an idea. Interjections have accordingly been excluded as being obviously composite words, and all strictly proper names of animals, plants, and minerals. These latter were unquestionably originally pure qualificative words, but their meaning is for the most part lost, as it is indeed in most cases in our own mother tongues. Exclusive of these, there remained about 450, which were given in the alphabetical list in the first volume. Since then the untiring energy of my friend Mr. Birch has enabled me to double the number. Thus, after omitting whatever does not belong to this comparative collection, we possess a mine of hieroglyphical treasure hitherto not even dreamed of for the comparative vocabulary. This will be found in the following volume.

As regards myself, I have arranged these old Egyptian words according to the stages of formation which they indicate, and this is the basis on which I proceed in the following philosophical analysis. I begin with the pure vocalised syllables, and then go on to their consonantal development in the pure syllable with a vowel termination. By this means I arrive at the impure syllable which begins with a vowel and ends with a consonant. Etymologists are aware that, strictly speaking, the pure syllable alone represents the consonantal roots which were originally monosyllabic. But here the vowel must have the power of an independent breathing. We find, however, that it frequently changes in different gradations of higher and lower tone between A, I, and U, and is the floating element in the progressive process of formation of language.

From the monosyllabic (biliteral) stems and roots, we proceed to the dissyllables and then to the triliterals. There we enter upon the historical stage of the Semitic formation of words, and their vowels are consequently not taken into account, but considered as changeable combinations of accent with consonants.

There still remain the words which consist of four letters, the quadrilitteræ of the Semites, complete dissyllabic words.

From the limited space devoted to this subject here I cannot give this preliminary labour, nor the second, so indispensable as the complement of it, which I went through for the purposes of the present research; I mean the organic compendium of all the Hebrew roots. It is generally admitted that Professor Ernest Meyer of Tübingen has altogether failed in accomplishing this successfully, from taking a one-sided view. But there are also the preparatory studies of Professor Dietrich of Marburg, on the formation of Semitic roots, a synopsis of which was given in my "Outlines" by Dr. Paul Bötticher (de la Garde). These two works, together with the general grammatical researches of Ewald, and the lexicographical collections of Gesenius and Fürst, may suffice to convince every historical student of language, of the possibility of referring all trilateral to biliteral roots. But I feel warmly that this ought to be the next problem for science to solve, taking Egyptian as the basis. Dietrich has attempted to illustrate the laws of the formation of quadriliteral roots out of trilateral. I entertain no doubt, however, from my compendium of all the trilateral roots, that it offers fewer difficulties as to research, but requires a more thorough philosophy of language to prove the most interesting point of all, namely, that the trilateral roots were first formed out of the biliteral. The fact itself I consider beyond all doubt. My studies, however, have convinced me of three important points:

First, That our success here depends upon starting from what is called the historical Semitic, as Ewald stated long ago:

Secondly, That in this particular the Egyptian is more important than the Arian: and

Thirdly, That in some of their roots the Arian lan-

guages have faithfully preserved the oldest element, and therefore that they must not be overlooked.

This latter remark, however, applies equally to the Egyptian. It is the Egyptian in which we possess the key for understanding the process of word-formation, both as regards its starting-point, the genuine Sinism, which lies behind the Egyptian, and its progress and completion, the historical Semitic, of which it is the preparatory stage, the embryo. Finally, the Egyptian contains various germs of formations which have been developed only at the eastern pole of the original language of Central Asia, and mainly therefore in Zend and Sanskrit.

If this assumption be well founded, the greatest material and formal concordance and identity of Egyptian and the two great branches of the civilising languages of Asia will be found in the first of the three above-mentioned strata of roots, the monosyllabic and simple roots.

II.

ANALYSIS OF THE COMPARATIVE LIST OF WORDS IN KHAMITIC, SEMITIC, AND ARIAN, WHICH WILL BE FOUND IN THE FOLLOWING VOLUME.

THE outlines of a comparative dictionary of these languages, with the addition of Coptic, which will be given in the next volume, are the results of the above preliminary studies, their own proper basis and groundwork.

It was impossible, by the aid of the Coptic only, to understand the Old Egyptian word-formation. Those who have attempted it, and especially Jablonski, undertook a greater impossibility than it would be to explain the origin of Latin from Dante, or explain Cicero from the Italian Bible.

But it would be equally difficult to ascertain from the vocabulary hitherto collected out of the hieroglyphical inscriptions, that the formation of Egyptian words was an integral part of the vast creation of the language of

civilised Asia. All that Egyptologers have done, however, has been to compare single Egyptian roots, discovered and assured by this process, with Coptic words. It is true that all those who have not, from ignorance or prejudice, shut their eyes to this source of information, have become convinced of the identity of the two after making that comparison. But the laws of the analogy between the Old Egyptian and Coptic certainly could not be ascertained by such a parallelism.

Still less have Coptic scholars ventured to deal with the Egyptian. One of them, and the most learned perhaps, who was cut off at an early age, Schwarze, who made a very careful examination of Champollion's collation of Egyptian and Coptic words for our dictionary, took too wide a scope, and did not pursue a clear method in his investigation. Thus the chasm has been left open between the two which it is our present object to bridge over. We undertake it simply for the purpose of historical research and examination.

But the next volume will show that the foundation we have laid is solid. The vocabulary will contain all the Coptic and Egyptian words which can be brought into etymological connexion with the Semitic. According to our fundamental assumption and the analysis of the grammar, the language of primitive Asia, the deposit of which is preserved in Egyptian, was Semitico-Arian not yet individualised, in which, however, the Semitic or West-Asiatic element decidedly predominated. We should consequently expect to find the same relations prevailing in the lexicographical portion. It exhibits, in truth, an unmistakable original affinity in the stems and roots. In the German edition the proof of this was only treated as a collateral matter, but I am now in a position to offer a more thorough and comprehensive comparison of the Arian stems from the Vedic and the Bactrian Zend. For this I am indebted to the same learned and ingenious investigator, Dr. Martin Haug,

who furnished me with the translation and geographical explanation of the first chapter of the Zendavesta in the preceding volume.

In this lexicographical comparison everything is omitted which cannot be proved from the pervading analogy of the language. But even then the result is surprising.

It can be demonstrated that the larger half of all the ancient and modern Egyptian words now extant are historically, that is, by natural descent, connected with the Semitic, and, as regards the original roots, with the Arian also. It frequently happens that the Egyptian forms the bridge between the two, which heretofore did not seem to be connected.

As regards the Coptic, our comparative dictionary is based upon the immortal work of the learned ex-Jesuit Ignazio Rossi, published in quarto at Rome in 1808, under the title of "*Etymologiæ Ægyptiacæ.*" But for this elaborate study, the labour of a life, it would have been impossible for me to undertake the task.

Still we cannot fail to perceive the one-sided views and deficiencies of Rossi's researches.

With all his ingenuity he was frequently at fault from ignorance of the Old Egyptian form, and from only possessing a worn down Coptic form. He was prevented from noticing many of the most certain and important affinities, because the Egyptian word was not in our Coptic thesaurus, which then consisted only of such as occur in the Bible, Liturgy, and sacred histories. We now see how it became obsolete in very early times as a popular tongue; many Egyptian words are wanting in Coptic, their place being supplied by composition or more tangible roots.

Added to these deficiencies there was in his work a total absence of any historical philosophy of language. It is true that in making his comparisons he argued by analogies, but the atomic theory of language continually peeps out, or, at least, the assumption in vogue at that

period, that the Coptic was made up of a jumble of all kinds of Semitic words.

I have very fully tested everything which, owing to these drawbacks, could not be rejected without further consideration. All these details will be given in the "Comparative Egypto-Semitic Vocabulary," which is the result of my labours. It being necessary to compare the Coptic with it, I was obliged to employ also the whole Coptic alphabet, in so far as any one letter of it was not used merely for the purpose of transcribing Greek words. But the *order* of this alphabet could not be preserved in my own. It is framed upon an unhistorical system, that of making a connexion between the Egyptian and the Greek. The aim has been, on the contrary, to keep as close as possible to a natural order, beginning with the vowels, and, as to the consonants, adhering strictly to the order of the Hebrew alphabet.

Annexed to the comparative dictionary are two monographs. The first is a synopsis constructed by myself of the Old Egyptian roots which begin with M, and their cognate roots in Semitic and Arian; a sketch, the object of which is to show how the historical relation between those stems might be most advantageously represented. The second is a thorough examination, by Professor Dietrich of Marburg, of such of the Old Egyptian stems as appeared to him the best adapted, in a purely Semitic point of view, to establish the proof of their radical identity. The words so analysed by him are marked with a †. The * signifies that such words are not in Rossi's list, which of course must be the case in Old Egyptian words the Coptic form of which is still unknown.

My own comparative dictionary is based upon two principles: no similarity of sound is to be considered historical unless accompanied by ostensible and demonstrable analogy; and the introduction of derivative significations, or even subsequent formative

letters and syllables, into the comparison is inadmissible. This would lead to a play upon words and is highly objectionable. Everything which appeared to me open to doubt, either because the analogy of the phonetic relations, or similarity of meaning (i. e. the fundamental and leading sense), could not be satisfactorily established, but which, on the other hand, seemed deserving of further consideration, is marked with a note of interrogation as questionable. Even under these circumstances much is left for future completion, much that may be improved; for what we know is by piecemeal. Still I feel confident as to the scientific grounds and foundation on which the inquiry rests, and equally so as to the correctness of most of the derivations. With all this, much will turn out to be defective, partly on account of the insufficiency of the materials, partly on account of my inadequate knowledge. The degrees of certainty and confidence vary in different cases. There are many points which can only be thoroughly established when our acquaintance with Egyptian roots is more extended. But reasonable and competent judges will not overlook the fact that these labours are the first of their kind, and consequently were difficult, as are the beginnings of everything. There is no recent publication upon comparisons of this kind deserving of mention, carried through the whole known apparatus of a language. But some manuscript communications containing valuable hints and suggestions have convinced me how little is to be gained, if an inquiry of this kind is undertaken merely from a Semitic or even Arian point of view, without a knowledge of Coptic and Egyptian, and if the relative position of the two be not taken into account. I am convinced that nothing really satisfactory can be accomplished without a certain completeness, and I believe that my labours, based as they are in the main on a solid foundation, are more than sufficient to establish the proof of the historical facts which are treated of in this work.

Every one acquainted with Greek and Latin is competent to read the dictionary; and the study of its details is facilitated by the expositions and evidences adduced in the First Book.

As regards the exposition in this Section, which is intended for the general reader, I must, in the first place, beg him to bear constantly in mind that we are not dealing in the main with word-picking, but with the history of the human mind and the connexion between races of men who have formed the history of the world. It might be too much, perhaps, to say that we are treating of the general history of all the races of man. I have endeavoured to render the inquiry as easy and accessible as possible to all my historical and philosophical colleagues. So much of the material only has been made use of as can be comprised within one general point of view; and account has been taken throughout of the leading ideas and principles, wherever it seemed necessary, according to the rules laid down in the First Book and the First Section of the present one.

In carrying out this undertaking, the principles of the historical method have been strictly followed. First, the formation of Egyptian words in itself has been exclusively examined by a synoptical view of the process which was manifestly going on. By this means we arrive at the conclusion that there have been three gradations: the difficulty surmounted, the point attained, and the object aimed at.

The first stage in Egyptian language exhibits the background, the formation of pure particles or stems, which we term Sinism. But this stage is only the advance from the earliest ages of man, the starting-point.

The second stage forms the proper specific centre of the Egyptian system; the biliteral root, with its offsets shooting out into derivative progression.

The third stage is the advance to historical Semism; but, inasmuch as this is a growth of purely Egyptian

soil, it rarely agrees entirely with the cognate triliteral roots in the Semitic.

In this stage also inflexions are introduced for the purpose of qualifying the Semitic type, which, as an exclusive basis of linguistic formation, is grievously one-sided. Iranism effected this by expanding the original stems with greater freedom, and upon more intellectual principles, into a great variety of productive roots. But there were inflexions in Khamism; just as in nature the lowest formations manifest the embryo of the highest.

B.

RESULT OF THE ANALYSIS OF FORMATIVE EGYPTIAN ROOTS.

I.

RESULT FROM A PURELY KHAMITIC POINT OF VIEW.

IN tracing the derivation of words which occur in an Egyptian writing or inscription, we must go back to stems as well as roots. For if we begin by excluding the compounds and then the few formative syllables, the residuum appears more or less as a pure particle- or conjunctive stem, which is neither noun nor verb; because it may, from its nature, be both, even though it may, in each particular instance, sometimes be one, sometimes the other.

We have already dealt with the grammatical syllables; but here again we must take into consideration, from the lexicographical point of view, the formative letters and syllables. Of these there are but few.

By prefixing the letter S, a verb may be turned into a causative word. For instance: MEN, to build; s. MEN, to cause to be built, to erect. NU at the end appears to be an old nominal or substantial suffix, as the particle of personality. It occurs on the monu-

ments of the Old Empire more frequently than in later times.

U and I also sometimes occur as signs of personality affixed to the root; and U itself, in dissyllabic verbal stems, as a strong ending. All these old endings are abandoned in the modern language. For instance: *sôs* (in *hyksos*), shepherd, was pronounced in the old language, *SASU*.

A is of very frequent occurrence as a vowel-prefix. *Atef*, for instance (*Tef*), father; *Atu*, from *TI*. There are but seven words that begin with I; which is clearly developed out of A.

The original hieroglyphical alphabet, as our readers are aware, is very simple. It consists of fifteen letters; three vowels and twelve consonants:

A I U

B F H K M N P R S *S*³ (sh) T χ (kh),

according to the order of the alphabet; or, according to Lepsius, organically arranged in four equal groups:

K T P B N M H χ *S* S F R.

The following are of a cognate meaning:

Vowels and prefix H.

H and K

K „ χ KH

S „ *S*

Less frequently: B „ U

S „ χ

χ „ *S*

Now as regards the word-stems which are formed out

³ I follow the mode of transcript adopted in the former volumes. The only difference is that I use, as Max Müller proposed, the cursive *s* to express the sound of sh, and in French ch. χ , which was used in the other volumes, must be given up, as it represents the compound sound skh. A full synopsis of the transcription will be found in the next volume.

of the above letters, the most simple are those verbal syllables, or syllables with an independent meaning, which consist exclusively of vowels or a repetition of vowels. Of these there are in reality ten in Egyptian, and they form the first part of my synopsis. In all of them, not only is the twofold nature of the stems, as nouns and verbs, apparent, which is a peculiarity of particle-language, but also the internal peculiarity of this stage. The identity of the meanings of a word is found in our languages in the identity of the object which is represented. In Semism the identity of property is predominant; in Sinism it lies principally in the movement of the mouth as the representation of the impression received by the mind.

By movement of the mouth I mean *that primitive act by which the object is represented at once musically and plastically*. The entire or partial opening of the jaws, the predominance of one or other of the five organs of speech (lips, teeth, tongue, gums, or palate), and the combination of several of these organs, form different figures. In like manner, a higher or lower, a descending or ascending cadence will cause differences of a musical kind. These contain a symbolism by which the logical and linguistic automatic activity of the perceptive or sensitive mind is artificially imitated and represented.

I have shown in my "Outlines" the historical character of these three stages; and I hope to establish them on philosophical grounds in the "Organon" which is in preparation. The Chinese is the proper field for this important research. Here we have to deal with single instances, in a language which is elaborated out of the first stage.

Let us take as an example the Egyptian word AA. It is obviously impossible to discover the unity of its numerous meanings in the objects. As little is it to be found in the properties. What common property can there be between arm, noble, habitation, and the verbs to wash, to

knit, or to join ? But the impressions of the things and actions here put into language coincided. The sustained full opening of the jaws is this unity.

The second part of the Egyptian words comprises the simple consonant syllables which terminate in a vowel (without prefix). These exhibit a manifest step in advance. Sensation, the echo of the impression received by exclamation, that is, where the passions predominate, is diminished. The peculiarity of the organ, which is especially represented in the consonants, is the corresponding symbol of perceptible distinctions and contrasts. The centre, accordingly, is the property which predominates in the mind of the framer of the language. Still the influence of the first stage is going on. For instance: in the word *HA*, which means to begin, to take the lead, day, leader, head, husband, all these meanings have their unity in the visible property of day, or head. In like manner another series of meanings is connected: clay, soil, thing or quality, member, self. But how are these two series reciprocally connected ? and how are they connected with the third series, joy, to enjoy oneself ? and all these again with cow and duck ? Clearly not by the property any more than by the object. Here, as in Chinese, we obtain no assistance except from the position of the words and accent. But by means of these, as well as gesture or even pictorial representation, the aspirated full sound may be considered as the plasticomusical unity.

If in the first part demeanour and gesture and the visible picture were quite indispensable, and were to a certain extent indeed the main instruments, so here the spoken language comes out, denoting the meaning more powerfully and emphatically. In our own times the objects represented are brought more home to us. We can perfectly well understand, in the case of the word *TA* (the hieroglyph for which is the arm, with a cake as an offering in the hand), the analogy be-

tween the crane in the act of reaching out and lifting up, and its natural prototype, the arm. At the same time, the third meaning appears singular, the ferrying over in a boat. Yet if we consider it attentively, the idea of reaching, by means of something stretched out, an object approaching and gaining the land is not altogether so far-fetched. Pollution and command, in the case of the word *TU*, seem wholly unconnected; but we have only to say, to lay on (in the sense of rough-casting colours), and commission, and the original poetical idea of the word-maker is clear.

In the second class of consonantal stems, monosyllables ending with mutes, which therefore are made up of two, by means of the general undefined semi-vowel (short *e*), we have already got beyond the stage of Sinism altogether. Assuming the identity of this final *N* of the Chinese and the Egyptian consonantal ending, the number of these stems, which had perhaps a strong nasal sound, is very inconsiderable: out of 84, only 8 or 9 (*AN*, *UN*, *MN*, *NN*, *NP*, *RN*, (*SN* ?), *TN*, *HKN*), that is, about a tenth. The final letters of the other 76 or 75 are divided organically in such a manner that *H*, *S*, *B*, *F* are of the most frequent, *T*, *S*, *R*, *M* of the rarest occurrence:

Liquids	.	.	.	.	.	R, (L,) M,
Aspirates and Sibilants.	H,	S,	S,			
Mutes	.	.	.	.	.	B, P, F,
						K, χ,
						T.

S and *T* are the most frequent endings. The stem-syllable consequently ends with all the letters, without exception. So-called natural sounds are only found in one word of this class, in *RR*, Copt. *lillu*, child (comp. *lallen*, to lisp). Roots the affinity of which is more or less demonstrable are common here in Semitic as well as Arian.

As regards the meanings of the stems, they are very

different, so that the reason why they were selected to signify any special object was again mainly the plastico-musical movement of the mouth. The fact of many of them being used both as nouns and verbs is in correspondence with it.

The simple bisyllabic roots which correspond to the Semitic trilateral are more than three times as numerous as the monosyllabic stems. Of these we have 264, that is nearly half the known Egyptian words (561). For instance, the words of frequent occurrence:

Aa, great; abu (=ab) elephant (comp. *ebur*); akb, to lament; ani, ape; amn, to conceal; anχ, life; app, to rise up, giant (comp. *ap*, to fly up, head); ara (Copt. *uro*, comp. *hara*), the Uræus; arf, to bind (comp. Hebr. 'alaph 'alam); arp, vine, wine; art, milk; atef (tef) father; atn (or k-atn), to form, to carve (? Hebr. 'Adon, Lord); aχχ, asru, darkness, night, (Hebr. 'hosekh, comp. Arab. 'hkl, to be dark, and Hebr. 'hakhhlîl, black).

Bah, to swell, to overflow (Hebr. *bua'h* or *ba'hah*, Ar. *ba''ha'*); ban, evil (Hebr. 'havon).

Fnt, worm, nose (Hebr. 'aph, from 'anaph).

Hak, to bind; har, hr, day (Hebr. 'or, light); hat, to frighten (Hebr. 'htt); hbn, ebony, honey (Hebr. 'heben); hbs, to clothe (Hebr. *labas*); hrs, stool (whence *hes* in the name of Isis; comp. Hebr. *kisse'*, *kef*); hka, to rule (comp. *hk*, king).

Iri, to do, to make, eye, son (comp. *Iris*).

Kam, black (Hebr. 'ham and *kamahh*, to be darkened); kar, to fight, deceive, circle (Heb. *galîl*, circle); kau, ox, cattle (comp. *kuh*, cow).

Mau, ell (Heb. 'ammah); mak, to rule, consider (? Heb. *melekh*, king); mna, to suckle, nurse (Heb. 'oméneth, nurse); mrh, salt (Heb. *mela'h*); mst, to hate (μισεῖν, *miser*); msa = maχ, archer.

Nfr, good (the hieroglyph is the lute = Heb. *nebel*, na-blum); nif, breath, to breathe (Heb. *nuf*, to blow,

- to flap); nsr, valour (Ar. *nazr*); ntr, God, Goddess, to get ready; nχt, strong, strength.
- Pti, foot (Copt. *pat*, comp. Gr. *ποδς*, *ποῦς*, Lat. *peds*, *pes*, Eng. *pad*, Germ. *pfote*); ptah, to open (comp. Heb. *pata'h*, Sansk. *pat*, *pando*).
- Ran, to please (Heb. *ranan*, to exult); rka, shameless; rpa, leader of a troop, captain; rra, pig; rta, to arrange, order.
- Sab, sba, flute; sak (=sk) to bind, subdue (Heb. *sakhakh*, to bend twigs); sbk, crocodile; sft, to slay (Heb. *'sht*); shm, to pound corn; ska, to harrow, to plough (comp. *sχa*, to write); sms=smsm, president; sna, elbow, knee, sisters (comp. *snau*, Heb. *sne*, two): snf, blood; spt, lip (Heb. *saphah*); srk (slk) scorpion; ss-mut, mare (Heb. *sus*, horse); ssr, victory (=nsr); stm, stibium; stp, warranted; suh, egg; sχb, to strike oxen with the goad (Aram. *skab*); sχin=χt, χtm, to fasten; sχχ, sistrum.
- Tat, olive, oil; tbh, measure, weight, signet-ring (Heb. *taba'h*, to sign, to impress signs); tha, to plunder, to be drunk (Heb. *ta'hah*, to tumble about); thu, table; tma, to separate off, to overpower; tnh, winged; trf, to dance; tta, eternal; tua, to worship; tum, to create.
- Ubn, light; ubt, boiling; ufa (comp. *af*), to punish; uns, wolf; urr, crown (comp. *ur*, *uræus*); utb, to pour out; uts, to test.
- χbs, to clothe, reckon (comp. *hbs*); χbt, to dance, to knock down, evil deed; χfa, fist, force; χns, to hunt; χpr, scarabeus, model, to be, there; χpt, thigh, Ursa Major; χrp, the first, pre-eminent; χsr, to clear away; χtb (comp. *χbt*), to throw on the ground; χtm, to close, a fort.
- Sas, to push through, to complete; sat, to cut; sau, wild boar; sbn (bajni), glass; ssf, to turn back, to take hold of; sta, mystery, close, grave, prison (comp. *χtm*).

On examining these examples, we shall see at once that this is the stage of formation which is with propriety called the Semitic: Triliteral stems having roots indeed considered as expressing relative properties, and therefore not so varied as to meaning. But these roots are used with greater freedom than in Semitic. The verbal pole has not become so predominant. Their number also is far more restricted than in Semitic, and so it remains, even including in Coptic what are possibly old triliteral stems.

This greater freedom as to meaning, and the same absence of derivative letters or syllables, are also found in quadriliteral words in Egyptian. But they hold a totally different position than in Semitic. Their number is much more considerable as compared with the trisyllabic. In comparing them with the old quadriliteral roots of the Semites, it must not be forgotten that the pure vowels, even long vowels, are not included in Hebrew among radical letters, whereas in Egyptian the vowels are always considered as independent breathings because they are expressed independently.

In the second place the reduplications, being a distinct class, like ba-ba, bu-bu, and 14 others, must be omitted.

Thirdly, compound words must be wholly excluded.

Altogether, out of the 543 certain radicals I have examined, 158, or about two sevenths, belong to this class; deducting those which are obviously borrowed from Hebrew and derivative words, about 140. Of these, again, all that begin or end with a vowel must be omitted, as being clearly a formative sound, u for instance, or NU at the end. They both seem to be primitive adjuncts for the purpose of marking independence (nouns or verbs). To the same category also belong hannu, to order, and han; mnnu = mna, string, to tow. The most palpable instance of a purely derivative form is NU in the word rnnu, to name, from

rn, name. Asru again is a nominal form of a $\chi\chi$, night. The same is probably the case with auru, bean: anru, beauty, is an amplification of AN, which, as a particle, has several entirely distinct meanings, the fundamental idea being the appearing.

But there are other vowels used in a similar way. The best instance is baita, house=Hebr. *bayith*, and iuma = *yam*. Neither of them is borrowed, but common to the two languages. In like manner, muau, compared with the Hebrew *may*, water; rama χ , wild goat (the supposed unicorn), Hebr. *rm*. In a similar way I at the end of Atai, chief (comp. *atta*, father, in the Indo-Germanic languages).

We find also as more complete forms, which are extended in the middle, basu, dagger, for bsu; it may, however, be that the former is the older, because the fuller form, and ours is the contracted root. The extension by R after a consonant, however, is certain in the words npra = npa, wheat. In nrau = nsr, vulture, we have NR expanding both by s in the middle, and by AU at the end.

The consonantal extension at the beginning by N is manifest in nunu = light, from the simple root un; in nkhek = khek, a whip; nkhen = khen, a babe. Similar is h'tar = tar, time; hbeb = beeb, fountain. May not nkbt, gold-washing, compared with χ bt, to dance, to throw down, be a Niphal form with a Hiphil meaning?

Perhaps in the word sutn (also sunt), king, from su, there may be a consonantal extension at the end. S $\chi\chi$ m, to rejoice, may likewise be formed from s $\chi\chi$, sistrum.

χ r, child, is a very productive root; χ art and srau come from it.

The principle of root-expansion is clear. The latest mode is the quadriliteral formation: it becomes a prevalent secondary formation in Coptic, in the names of animals and plants. The original stock must have

been the same, namely, ancient Asiatic words descriptive of quality; but the composition for the purpose of indicating the new objects, or an object viewed under new relations, and the farther history of this word, belong to a comparatively new formation. Words like *akhatr* for hare, probably a χ -tr, destroyer of the shoots, as the Hebrew name of the hare is usually explained according to Bochart; and *arnebet*, one that gnaws off the corn (Dietrich explains it differently, p. 287. of his "Dissertations on Semitic Etymology"), belong to this class. The form *sχat* for hare is clearly only a contraction of the other.

There is a very singular composition in this secondary formation in the well-known name of the crocodile, *emsuh* = what comes out of the egg, because the Egyptians remarked that this monstrous fish-like animal possessed this peculiarity.

All these circumstances explain the fact of there being in this department very much fewer analogies with the Semitico-Iranian.

Baka means balsam, in Egyptian, Hebrew, and Arabic; but in Egyptian it means also date-palm and palm-wine. In Semitic it stands isolated; the derivation from *baka*, to weep (Egyp. *akab*), is a mere fancy.

Hamham, to bellow; Hebr. *hamah*; the simple Egyptian word, therefore, is the pure root. The Hebrew extended it trilaterally; the Egyptian, by reduplication, like the Hebrew form *Pilpel*.

Ruma, man; in Gipsy language, *Rumi*; comp. Gr. *ῥώμη*, strength. In Egyptian, also, it is very significant, the erect. The same occurs in many other instances, as will be seen in the comparative dictionary.

II.

THE RESULT, AS REGARDS LANGUAGE AND HISTORY, OF THE INQUIRY
INTO THE FORMATION OF WORDS AND ROOTS IN EGYPTIAN.

I. THE RESULT AS REGARDS LANGUAGE.

IF we sum up the facts in the oldest Egyptian formations which have been elucidated above, and the gradual growth of complete radical stems in that language, we shall find, first, that we are obliged to admit that the Khamitic formation, in its original shape, represents a far older stage than the one on which the Semitic is based. We shall also find in this obscure department of primeval creations a corroboration of the assumption that both the Khamitic and Semitic merely represent different stages of formation of the same Western branch of the primitive world of Asia. The Semitic inhabitants of Asia were not Africans in an advanced state, for their common elements extend also to Arian roots, indeed, to germs of Arian forms.

We found this relation holding good in all the details, according to the general laws of the development of language. Very naturally: for these laws are nothing but the application of the highest logical truths to language, which is the most original, regular, and creative expression of thought in its relations to things.

The forms which in the first instance imply a change from a particle language into one consisting of parts of speech, are the pronouns.

There is especially the repetition of the designation of I and Thou and He in the singular and plural, in every sentence, and consequently in every, even the simplest, phrase. It is combined with the noun, and especially with the verb, by means of affixes or suffixes, and it imparts to them a special signification. The personal pronouns indicate that the mind is awakening to a consciousness of its personality and

self-determination: their use by children is the sign of a new epoch in the development of mind. Whenever then two languages have these pronouns in common, there must have existed between them a most primitive community of life. They must be a most ancient common heirloom. Now there is almost a perfect identity in Egyptian and Semitic between the personal pronouns, and the explanation of their meaning is found in most instances in the former.

This primary fact in the conscious formation of language is implied in all that follow; for instance, in the formation of that series of pronominal and adjectival expressions by means of the choice of a few roots which indicate the independence and substantiality of the nouns. In this series, again, fewer analogies are found. The race who migrated to Egypt, or who were driven thither, began there its own coinage of forms out of full roots. It exercised the same creative power in the coinage of nouns into prepositions of space and time, and into particles designating causality, and similar intellectual relations. Here, also, we find the Egyptian mind in the stage of the first awakening of consciousness. We can almost universally recognise the full meaning of the particles which are used to express the relations. Now what here are prepositions are postpositions in the North-Eastern form of that stage in Turanism.

Here, again, as well as in the plural particle (*u*) and the verbal conjugational roots, we find material community of concrete roots, out of which those words are coined, especially in Western Asia, with the historical Semitic. But the coinage itself belongs to a stage anterior to this Semism, to Khamism.

We have therefore, throughout, an organic transparent development in the creation of formative words.

But the comparison of the original roots themselves takes us back, of necessity, to a still earlier time. We can, it is true, already (thanks to Birch's researches) assume the number of Old Egyptian words, which are certainly

known, to be more than 1500. Of these there will be some 600 actual stems and roots. If we add to these such Coptic stems as point to simple genuine Egyptian stems, the earliest form of which is still unknown, we get about 100 more. The other words are produced out of them by development, extension, or composition, or they are proper names in the wider sense; that is, names of plants, animals, articles of dress, and the like, the ideal or qualificative designation of which we cannot recognise.

The theory of secondary formation, which we proposed in 1847, explains the fact. For if we consider our vocabulary according to it, we shall easily distinguish the original and the secondary formation. The roots which are used to form personal pronouns are resolved into monosyllabic words. Most of them can be pointed out in Egyptian among the full (concrete) roots, but merely in this original monosyllabic form; they having already taken the shape of extension, or even composition. Great part of the pronouns are compound words. When the oldest form was worn down the amplification by means of internal development was resorted to, or a similar word was coupled with it.

The particle *iri* (to do) is that most frequently used in the conjugation of the verbs; it is bisyllabic, and consequently cannot be of the oldest formation.

We discover the same phenomenon in the comparison of the above stems. The central point of the whole process of formation is the working out of particles having still a concrete meaning, into biliteral nouns and verbs expressing qualities. This is necessarily a much older stage of language than the Semitic, which has abandoned almost entirely the monosyllabic root, and is based upon the triliteral (bisyllabic) verb as the root of the other formations.

Now, as in our grammatical analysis of Egyptian we have discovered elements which are wholly un-Semitic and the germs of Arian forms, so also in making our lexi-

cographical comparisons we have met with roots which are known to us as exclusively, or more decidedly Arian, and which do not exist in Semitic, or have fallen into disuse. We thus arrive at the formula :

The Egyptian language proves, both grammatically and lexicographically, the original identity of the Semitic and Arian.

The number of Egyptian words which occur in Semitic, and which, though perhaps in a less degree, can be pointed out in Arian, is far greater than could have been expected ; for it comprises by far the larger half of the roots in the vocabulary.

But this concordance appears still more astonishing and important, when we consider the pervading internal analogy, both as regards the points of agreement and discrepancy.

The main pillars of the linguistic consciousness of the ancient world, and, indeed, of our own living languages, the monosyllabic radicals and nouns, turn out almost without exception to be common property, and an inheritance of the primitive ages. But in Egyptian they make their appearance, not, as is frequently the case with us, as despised prepositions, or little formative words, or unmeaning syllables ; nor, as is especially the case in Semitic, dressed up in a later artificial systematic garb ; but in their full majesty, and in their original, or very nearly original, simplicity and child-like nakedness.

The compound words, and those which have grown into quadrilaterals, and even farther, have much less connexion with the Asiatic, which is quite in harmony with the same organic laws. Indeed, the more the above words bear the impress of pure Egyptian, the more must the groundwork, the original root, necessarily be affected and obscured.

We may therefore close the inquiry with the following assertion :

That which we laid down as a philosophical postulate, according to the general development of language, and as emanating from organic laws, proves to be historical, and is capable of being authentically demonstrated. Language is not only the instrument, but also the primitive manifestation of reason.

II. THE RESULT FOR THE UNIVERSAL HISTORY OF MANKIND.

If we apply this result of the examination of the history of language to the general history of mankind, we may lay down three propositions which are deserving of weighty consideration.

Thesis I.

Khamism stands in the same relation to West-Asiatic Semism that Turanism does to Arism: the former is the western, the latter the eastern pole of the coinage of a language of concrete particles into a language consisting of parts of speech.

Thesis II.

Khamism is the historical proof of the original unity of those two great languages of the world which took at a later period the form of Semitic and Arian; and therefore also of that of the language of those Turanians, who lived on the borders of Iran, if not indeed of all the known languages of Asia and Europe, which are neither Semitic nor Arian.

The peculiarity of the men of Western Asia or the Semites, which appears already in Egyptian, is here remarkable. As Semism is far less widely spread than Arism, so is Khamism drawn within much narrower limits than Turanism. Japhet, the man of not yet individualised Eastern Asia, dwells in the tents of Shem, the man of the West of Asia, And this is true, not only in Asia, but in Africa itself. But Shem never penetrated into Europe, which was exclusively occupied,

first by Turanians, then by the nations of Arian race who gradually dispelled Turan.

In other words: the Western or Khamitico-Semitic race is exclusive in its tendencies, and so it remains. It is certainly the compressed element; but it has also a tendency to isolation by its exclusiveness. It feels as a sacerdotically sanctified people, and so it remains shut up in itself.

When we look, however, more closely into the special peculiarities of Khamism and Semitism, we hardly know which strikes us with greater astonishment, the vastness of the differences where there was such a union, or the original historical affinity together with so vast a discrepancy.

We must therefore annex to our first two theses a third in order to restrict and define them.

Thesis III.

Khamism is as different in kind from Semism as it is from Arism and Turanism.

Finally, as there are two unimpeachable facts established by the same organic formation, on one side the common properties and agreement, on the other the immense diversity, the combination of the two considerations brings us to a fourth thesis.

Thesis IV.

A much vaster period must have intervened between the first western formation, the deposit of which we possess in Khamism, and the second, the Semitic of historical Asia, than is admitted by the ordinary rabbinical chronology.

We must not exaggerate the time required. The secondary formation of Egypt runs contemporaneously by the side of the uninterrupted course of that linguistic formation which we possess in Chaldee (Babylonio-Assyrian), in Kanaanitish (Phœnician), in Hebrew and

Arabic, as well as Ethiopian. We must therefore, in making our calculation, take into account this contemporaneous development. But the earlier stage of formation is separated by so vast an interval from the Semitic, that we find ourselves in a totally new world when we pass on from the examination of the Khamitic structure to that of the Semitic. In Egyptian the conscious organically creating mind begins, as it were, for the first time, and as if timidly trying its wings. The concrete meaning inherent still in all words is in direct opposition to the system of forms, and is distinguished by a rigid inflexibility. In the Semitic, on the contrary, the stem is already a root, the particle has become a part of speech, the noun and verb are distinct; the older forms have already become unintelligible, and are only under the command of mind in order to mark the relations of things to each other, and their own proper action.

But this is precisely what the general inquiry would have led us to expect.

We shall now have to ascertain whether there be extant facts which will enable us to point out this original affinity together with prominent marks of difference, this unity of foundation with so much diversity of superstructure, even in the domain of religious consciousness.

In examining this second portion of the Egyptian origines, however, we stumble at once upon the difficulties hinted at in the First Part of this Book.

Who is to unravel for us the mute hieroglyphic of the Egyptian Pantheon? Who will lead us up to the commencements and fundamental ideas of this enigmatical development, which was a puzzle to Greeks and Romans?

There is, undoubtedly, no other way than that to which language points, a comparison with the religious views of the Semites of Western Asia, by which we mean the mythological, excluding therefore, in the first place, the Hebrews.

Wherever language is originally the same, there mythology must also have been originally the same: the germs of it are contained in the formation of language.

The more especial point to be elucidated here is that of the *Origines*, consequently that of the kosmogonical traditions and of the poetical ideas of the mythological Semites. For the *Origines* both of the world or religion, and of the human race or human affairs, are represented, neither more nor less, in those theogonico-kosmogonic formations. The first thing to be done, therefore, will be to compare the Egyptian mythologies with them.

But before proceeding to make this comparison, we must establish the state of facts. We must give a philosophico-historical synopsis of the Egyptian Orders of Gods described in the First Book in a purely objective sense, taking into account the researches subsequently made. But it is essential as a preliminary step to clear the ground of the comparison, as well on the Egyptian as on the Semitic side. For the facts here to be passed under review are by no means so thoroughly established, or so clearly represented, as is requisite for a general historical comparison.

The Third Part will be dedicated to the examination of the Semitic kosmogonies. In the Fourth, after taking a compendious survey of the Egyptian mythologies, we shall proceed to compare of the two historical formations, the Egyptian and the Semitic. Only after this has been done shall we be in a position to make a comparison of the Semitic traditions about the *Origines* of the human race: in doing which the sacred records of the Bible will take a prominent place. This accordingly will be the object of the Fifth Part. In the Sixth, the whole investigation will be brought to a close, with a glance at the corresponding Arian traditions about the *Origines* of Man. This will justify us in encountering the bold undertaking of attempting to establish the *Ages of the World*, and the place which Egypt occupies among them.

We shall endeavour to establish, first of all, those points which we consider the most important and decisive, by adducing the positive arguments in their favour, and by pointing out the impossibility of the commonly received and foregone opinions, when tested by incontrovertible facts. We would earnestly entreat our readers to distinguish between these leading points and conjectures about secondary objects of research. The latter are indispensable as critical pioneers, but the battle is not fought on that ground.

M. Renan, in his ingenious treatise on Sankhuniathon, has, according to his system, ignored the question of the historical connexion between the languages, and consequently the most ancient mythologies, of Western Asia and Egypt. He would otherwise not have been startled by meeting with Thoth both in Egypt and Phœnicia, and thereby induced to offer conjectures which are in themselves highly improbable. The languages, as well as religious ideas, of the Semites are the development of the primeval Asiatic stock, crystallized in Egypt, and the common character of the mythology of the Chaldeans (whose reformed offspring are the children of Abraham) is symbolical pantheism.

PART III.

PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS

OF

THE BABYLONIAN AND PHŒNICIAN

KOSMOGONIES.

INTRODUCTION.

THE KOSMOGONIES ACCORDING TO BEROSUS, EUDEMUS, AND
DAMASCIUS.⁴

I.

THE KOSMOGONY OF THE BABYLONIANS ACCORDING TO BEROSUS.

AFTER the searching inquiries instituted by Niebuhr, it is unnecessary to offer any further proof of the entire credibility of Berosus, the scholar of Babylon, the contemporary of the first Seleucidæ. It would seem that almost everything we know about the Babylonian antiquities and histories from the later Greeks, on which reliance can be placed, is derived directly or indirectly from him.

The following is his account of the beginnings of the world and of man from the Babylonian records.

At first all was darkness and water. In these the commencements of animal life were produced. But there was as yet no distinction of races and species. Sometimes men had feet of beasts, sometimes wings; there were quadrupeds and men with fishes' tails and similar incongruities, representations of which were to be seen in the temple of Belus.

Over this unorganised creation a woman presided, Omorôka, known to the Chaldees as Thalathth. Belus split her in two, and thus the heaven and the earth were separated. Whatever portion of her living substance could not bear the light perished.

From the derivation of the word and the general

⁴ The text of Berosus was given in the First Volume, in the Appendix of Authorities; the other two texts will appear in the Fifth.

views entertained by these nations, the Thalathth of the Chaldees (and it was evidently the ordinary name) can only have signified "the bearing," or "the egg-producing" (Tolédeth, or Talédeth). The other word must, therefore, contain "egg." The Kosmic egg, the opening or splitting of which by the creative God produced the present order of things, is the natural way of representing the first limitation of chaos, as the condition of the existence of things in space. It is here also expressly stated, that the animal creation had already begun to move in the dark waters, but light, order, and consciousness were yet in embryo.⁵

The same explanation must be given of the name Omorôka, which is evidently a compound one, and descriptive of properties (Markaia in the Armenian version of Eusebius). The first part is supposed to contain Mother ('em): hence some have explained it as "Mother of the Void;" according to Movers, "of the canopy of heaven." Neither of them is suitable. A better explanation, which agrees also with the etymology, would be, "Mother of the Earth;"⁶ that is, what is as yet unilluminated by the light of heaven or spirit, dark beginnings of things, the dark terrestrial element. But, according to Professor Dietrich, it contains the word egg, by dividing it into (a) Mar-kaia; that is, the inmate of the egg.⁷

⁵ As stated in the text, I consider it an old feminine Talédeth, formed from the verb which must correspond with the Hebrew *yalaḏ*, *valaḏ*, and, like it, have signified, not merely "to bear," but also "to lay an egg." Our word, therefore, may just as well mean "the egg-producing." According to Dietrich, the Vau may be dropped, on account of the affixed nominal preformative T, which occurs in *tosab*, "inhabitant," for instance, from (*vasab*) *yasab*.

⁶ *Am-arqâ*, or *Om-orgô*, signifies, in modern Armenian, "Mother of the Earth," "Mother-earth."

⁷ Dietrich supplied me with the following explanation:—"It might be divided into Ὀμορω-κα, (a) Μαρ-καia. The second syllable may be an old word, *καi*, for egg: at all events the reduplicated form *kaikai* is the Arabic for egg, *kaikat* in the feminine, which stands, according

After this (it proceeds to say) Belus (Baal, the Lord, who, according to Berosus, corresponded to Zeus) cut off his own head, and let his blood trickle on to the ground. The other Gods (Elôhim, or Baalim, as it was doubtless written in the records) mixed the blood of Belus with the dust of the earth. By this means (says Berosus) man became possessed of reason and divine knowledge.

If we compare this account with what we find in the Bible, it is as impossible not to remark the agreement between them as to the fundamental idea, the community of the divine and human, as it is not to see the discrepancy in the way it is carried out and applied. In the Babylonian version, the speculative and mystical idea of natural religions, kept out of sight in Genesis, is brought prominently forward: That creation, and especially the creation of man, is a self-offering of the Deity: the Infinite and Unlimited giving itself up out of love to the Finite and the Limited. Hence, if we put aside the veil of the genealogical view, and see nothing in the Sonship but the separate momenta of the divine self-consciousness, we have here the simplest expression of the idea, which, when differently applied, is represented as the sacrifice of the Only Son, or even as the slaying of the Father by the divine Son.

It is further stated in our epitomes that Belus created the constellations also, among which the sun, moon, and planets are mentioned by name. Babylonian philosophers can never have viewed the creation of man in

to the Arabic lexicographers, for *kaikayyat*. A similar, but more abbreviated, form of reduplication means in Syriac, according to Bar Bahlul, the hen, *kokito*'. Supposing the simple word *kai* also to signify egg, *'hamôrkhai*, according to the Syriac and Arabic meaning of *'hmr*, to dwell, would be 'the inmate of the egg.' It seems more advisable, therefore, to explain *'Oμop* from *'hamar* (properly, to ferment): *'homer* (in old Hebrew, the potter's clay) is the Rabbinical word to express *matter*; hence, *'homer kai* would be 'the matter of the egg,' egg-stuff. The Greeks often expressed *π* merely by the spiritus lenis; for instance, in the names of Eve, Enoch, Ezekiel, &c."

any other light than as the earth having become capable of producing sustenance, and providing habitations for its creatures, through the influence of the stars.

At the beginning, the purely chaotic state, which is expressly mentioned in Genesis, would seem to be entirely unnoticed in the Babylonian account. But it is clearly left in the background as being the Unlimited; when the limitation takes place (the Egg), the real creation, the act of creation and of formation in the Limited, commences. Here, however, matter is unmistakably predominant. In the Mosaic tradition, the "Waste and Void" are primeval; but then "the spirit of God moves upon the face of the waters." The Lord God divides the Upper from the Lower: and Belus splits in two the dark primeval mother, teeming with dreamy beings, the Kosmic egg.

II.

THE BABYLONIAN KOSMOGONY ACCORDING TO THE ACCOUNT IN
EUEMUS.

(Damascius de Princip. cap. 125. p. 324. ed. Koppe.)⁸

DAMASCIUS, the last teacher of the Neo-Platonic doctrines (who lived at Athens in the reign of Justinian, and sought refuge at the court of Khosroes), has transmitted to us the account given by the celebrated Peripatetic, Eudemus, the pupil of Aristotle. Although it bears on the face of it traces of a later mythological system than that of Berosus, it is nevertheless free from all suspicion of Neo-Platonic influences. It was as impossible for the annalist, as for the Babylonian thinkers who instituted the system, to be biased by a tendency which was of much more modern date, and still less, therefore, by Christian Gnosticism. It is possible, however, that such a train of thought, in which

⁸ See Movers, p. 275. seqq., comp. with pp. 555, 556.

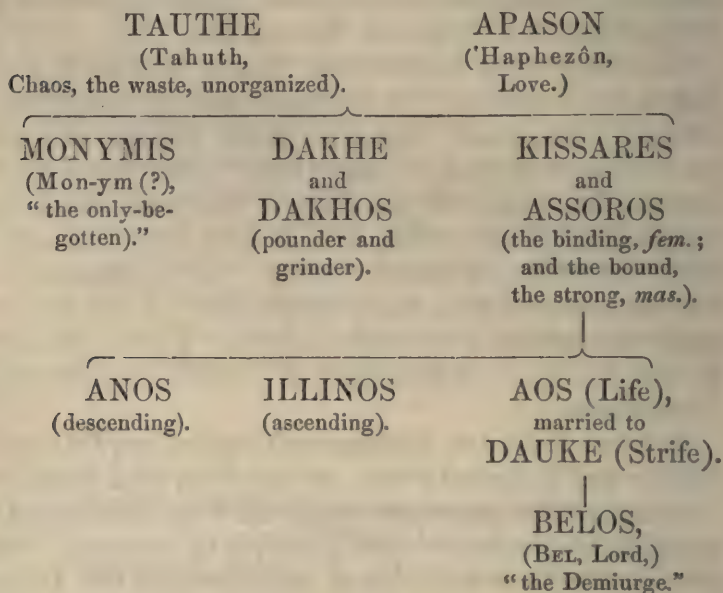
the simple Biblical narrative was developed in a tangible shape without attaining to dialectical clearness, did exercise an historical influence upon the formation of Syrian Gnosticism. Even in Basilides this is manifested by allusions and assumptions, which are treated as if they were well known to their readers.

The description begins with Chaos, and ends with Belus, the Demiurge. It is, consequently, strictly and properly, Theogony. Chaos is called Tauthe, and explained as "Mother of the Gods." We agree with Movers that *Tauthe* is the *Tohu* in the first chapter of Genesis, the Void. The root is here only expanded mythologically, as a feminine noun. His explanation of her husband, Apasôn, being 'Haphezôn, i. e. the beneficent, the loving, is certainly correct. Pothos (desire) is also known as a fundamental Power amongst the Phœnicians.

Between these two fundamental beginnings, Primeval Matter and Primeval Force on one side, and Belus on the other, there intervenes before all "the Monogenes," as being the undivided first principle of creation. His so-called brothers and sisters, considered as two Pairs, consequently represent the kosmogonic antitheses in their separation. Doubtful as is the interpretation of the first Pair, the fundamental idea of the second seems really to correspond to the above view. There are also difficulties about the derivation of the Chaldee name for Monogenes. *Moymis* is no explanation at all: but it has a great similarity to Monimos, the God of Edessa, who is represented with a vast number of demiurgic symbols, and is interpreted as Apollo.⁹

⁹ Movers proposes *Aoymis* as an emendation; a word not occurring elsewhere, and which he derives from the root '*hayah*, life, as signifying the living. But this derivation furnishes no explanation whatever of the translation given of it. The primeval Syrian God of Edessa, who is interpreted by the author of the work on the Syrian Goddess as Apollo, is suitable in every respect; he being ac-

We therefore subjoin a tabular form of the representation. In offering our philosophical explanation we shall venture a few remarks upon some of the points in Movers' interpretation of the other names.



In each of these two Pairs there are obviously a male and a female principle, the former taking precedence. The masculine and feminine names are in each case identical. The latter gives us a clue to the explanation of

accompanied by all the symbols of kosmogonical import. By a slight alteration, (the insertion of a Nun,) we obtain Monymis. If we explain this by the Hebrew derivation from *nun*, posterity, *manon*, descendant, we should approximate closely to the pronunciation as well as idea. If this is not satisfactory, we are driven to the supposition of it being a compound word, the latter part of which would be *im*, the Hebrew word *immim*, peoples, races, and the sense would be "father of the people." The word *im* we meet with hereafter in Phœnician; but still the whole name does not tally. In order to account for the *m* in the last syllable we have only to suppose it to be the plural form *im*, which occurs in so many names of Gods.

Kissares-Assoros as being equivalent to Khusor-Khusarthis, whom we shall meet with among the Phœnicians, and the meaning of which is also connected with binding. If this point be established, it follows that the first Pair might express an antithesis, in the general sense of separating and dividing. The ideas expressed, therefore, would be either the eternal play of the antithesis between dividing and binding, repulsion and attraction, or the crushing and amalgamating power, but probably the former. Hence it follows, that the next advance would be from the Pair of attraction or binding, and such is the fact. The former element is in the first place simply the repressive, but it becomes by collision with the element of progress the co-formative element. There may be an error of transcript in the way of writing the first Pair. From the Pair representing the organizing principle there emanate again three Powers, which are masculine. We leave Movers' explanation to speak for itself: but if it means that the youngest of these three married Dauke, she must necessarily have been mentioned before; otherwise she is a nonentity.

If, therefore, there be any logical connexion in this table, Dauke must be identical with, or essentially like, the Dakhe who was mentioned above; that is to say, with the oldest of the principles which are derived, after the Monogenes, from the two primeval powers. We must either, therefore, read in the one case Dauke and Daukos, or in the other Dakhe; or else merely consider them different forms of the same root. To us the latter appears the more probable, and it can also be proved linguistically. Movers has generally hit upon the right root, which means to rub, to push.¹⁰ The

¹⁰ Professor Dietrich suggests to me the following derivation:—“The root d'h is found in *du'h*, *d'hh*, *nd'h*, (Heb. Syr. and Arab.) to push, to push against, to push over; in the passive, to die, to spoil. There is an analogous Arabic root signifying to stretch out. The harder roots dkh and dq signify, in all the derivatives, to crush, to bruise;

oldest female Power in the dividing, separating, severing lines, and the youngest representative of the binding, would in that case, at all events, produce by their union, as they ought to do, the world-forming man-creating God, Belus, called by the Greeks Zeus.

Here again, therefore, we have a progressive development of the universe, through the emanation of the conscious God out of the antithesis of primeval matter and primeval force.

III.

THE PHŒNICIAN KOSMOGONIES IN DAMASCIUS.

DAMASCIUS, the last teacher of heathen philosophy, who, in the reign of Justinian, was at the head of the Neo-Platonic school, has transmitted, in his work on the Beginnings¹¹, two kosmogonies of the Phœnicians, both of which demand attention. We first give a translation of the text.

I. THE ACCOUNT IN EUDEMUS.

“The Sidonians, according to Eudemus, place Kronos (time), Pothos (desire), and Omikhle (mist) at the head. From the conjunction of Pothos and Omikhle, as the two principles, sprang Aer and Aura: of which they consider Aer as unmixed with the spiritual, or Noëton; Aura as the prototype, the life-containing principle, which is set in motion by the spiritual. From these two, again, the Egg¹² was produced, through ‘intellectual reason,’ as I suppose.”

II. THE ACCOUNT IN MÔKHUS.

“Collateral with the account of Eudemus, we find the mythology of Môkhus. At first Ether and Air, the

and the Arabic word *dakka* also means to destroy: in Aram. *daukat* is strife; *dauqat*, corruptio.”

¹¹ Δαμάσκιος περὶ ἀρχῶν, cap. 125. p. 385. ed. Kopp.

¹² ὠόν instead of ὠρον, also animadverted upon by Ewald.

two principles, existed. These two begat Ulômos, the spiritual God; the highest point of the spiritual, as I conceive. He created from himself, in the first place, Khusôros, the Opener, then the Egg. By the Egg¹³, I suppose them to have meant intellectual reason, by the Opener, Khusôros, intellectual force, in so far as it separates undivided nature.

“But the highest point, which comes after the first two principles, may be wind in the abstract (Pneuma), and the middle one the two winds, West and South (Libs and Notus): for they place these also before Ulômos. In that case Ulômos himself would be intellectual reason, and the Opener, Khusôros, that is, the first Order after the spiritual, and the Egg would be heaven. For it is said, that when he split himself up into two parts, heaven and earth, which were the two halves, were the results.”

We have here, therefore, the material kosmogony in two forms, but the latter is obscured by the scholastic formula of Damascius. The following diagram will make this clear:

FIRST REPRESENTATION.

Kronos (Time).	Pothos (Desire).	Omikhle (Mist).
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> Aër HEBEL (Abel). </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> Aura (Breath=Rua'h?) </div> </div>		

The Kosmic Egg.

It is clear that there are here two main agents: a Will, represented as desire, longing; and Space, Matter. The latter is considered obscure, misty, or, as we should say, gaseous. By the side of both, as the condition of development, stands Time. From the two former the Kosmic

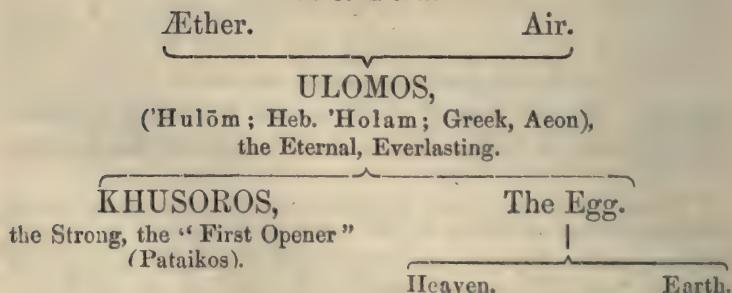
¹³ I read: τοῦτο μέν, οἶμαι, τὸν νοητὸν νοῦν λέγοντες, τὸν δὲ ἀνοιγέα Χουσωρόν, instead of τοῦτον, which would have referred to Ulômos. This explanation, however, has been already given; but nothing said about the Egg. The second description is clearer on this point.

egg is formed, or the Limitation in space, which contains in it the germ of special life, or of the beings of Earth. This development is brought about by Air and Breath. Air is mist endued with light, and Breath is the instrument at work in it. This coordination would lead to the conclusion of the original assumption of a Rua'h, a breathing, which is a common Semitic notion, combining in it two ideas, that of the moving spirit and movement itself, or the principle of wind. We find in various parts of the old world divine honours paid to wind, especially on the borders of the Mediterranean. But here again, it is not the adoration of the abstract power of nature which is the Original, but the creative element in wind, as a kosmogonical agent. The soul, i. e. consciousness, came into man with the first breath, when, to use the language of Pherecydes, the winds bore the soul on their wings into man.

In respect of Khusôros, i. e. "the Strong," as will be seen below, we need only remark that he is mentioned as the "first Opener." But in the Semitic, the "first Opener" is the first Pataikos (Patea'h, from Pata'h, to open) which we shall find to be synonymous with the first of the Kabiri; i. e. the first Strong Being, the 'EL of Scripture.

SECOND REPRESENTATION.

First Form.



PART IV.

PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS

OF EGYPTIAN TRADITIONS AND FICTIONS ABOUT THE
BEGINNINGS OF THE WORLD AND OF MAN;

OR,

EXPLANATION OF THE EGYPTIAN ORDERS OF GODS AS
KOSMOGONICAL MYTHS.

SECTION I.

FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF THE EGYPTIAN ORDERS OF GODS.

A.

METHOD OF DISCOVERING THE KEY TO THE EXPLANATION
OF EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGIES. — RELATION TO CREUZER
AND SCHELLING.

I HAVE no material alteration to make in what has been said in the First Book in describing the facts of Egyptian mythology. The Gods are named as the Egyptians named them, and the inscriptions about them state what is there written, whether Professor Schwenck is able to read them or not. For any additions and corrections I may have to make in the present historico-philosophical treatise, I am indebted in part to my own further researches, and in part to the information which Lepsius has since given to the public respecting the First Order of Gods and the views entertained upon it by Herodotus, both in his Introduction and in the academical treatise on the First Egyptian Circle of Gods. It is true that Röth's work has appeared since then. Its object is a vast and splendid one, namely, to exhibit the connexion between history and thought, between what is most ancient and what is modern. I am therefore sincerely sorry to be obliged to assent to all that Lepsius has said in his treatise above alluded to (pp. 6—9.). The combination of philology and history with the ideas of the object of research is assuredly the highest scientific problem of the present day and of the next age, and the result of it is very important to

the times in which we live. But then the first essential is that the philological basis of the superstructure should be secure, and in the case of R \ddot{o} th it never is so. I am by no means disposed to think it wholly unscientific to maintain that there is any relation between the most ancient religious systems of the East and Hellenic speculation, or even the ideas entertained by the Christian world: but then the leading historical assumptions must have a solid basis; it is essential that one who investigates the early world should be well acquainted with Hellenism, which was originally and organically developed from itself, and with Christianity, the roots of which are clear enough before us. I must say that in my opinion R \ddot{o} th's work does not fulfil either of these conditions, and that the historical hypothesis from which he starts, relative to Christianity, is in direct opposition to sound historical criticism. Finally, it is especially defective in all that relates to Egypt, and its connexion with Grecian religion and science, both as regards philological acquaintance with its monuments and their inscriptions, and historical criticism upon ancient Egypt, for instance, the Hyksos and the Pyramids.

All that I have been able to extract from Professor Schwenck's review of this portion of my First Book in the "Journal of Literature of Jena" is, that he is very angry about the hieroglyphical names and inscriptions which do not suit his "theology," and that he fancies himself competent to give an opinion upon researches into Egyptian language and monuments, without possessing any knowledge of either one or the other at first hand. I confess that this is a doctrine to which I cannot subscribe; and it is one which seems very remarkable as coming from a really learned man. I say nothing about Seyffarth and his pupil Uhlemann, because their whole method is unscientific.

It cannot be the object of the present inquiry to

enter into any further exposition of facts in regard to Egyptian mythology and religion generally. What concerns us here is to bear in mind everything that has reference to the beginnings of the world and of chaos, or the theogonical and kosmogonical myths. This inquiry, however, in regard to Egypt, is comprised in the mythological fiction about the dynasties of Gods, or the succession of the orders of Gods.

Still it is by no means our business to give a complete sketch of the system of the orders of Egyptian Gods. To understand them must, it is true, be the main object of the historico-mythological explanation of which we are in search. But it is hardly possible that we shall ever be able to offer a really historical, that is, a connected restoration of the historical formation of Egyptian religion as traceable from its causes. It is quite certain that we are entirely incompetent to do so now. We know just enough, not merely to throw back within its proper limits every attempt at a pretended philosophical history, but also to show beforehand the total inutility of making such an attempt. There is nothing more dangerous than to try to connect mythological details as cause and effect, and to exhibit their historical development; and that too here, where we are dealing with a formation which was in process more than 3000 years, and where the living word is for the most part wanting, and what we do possess was committed to writing at a late date, and generally in a most confused manner.

Here, as in other instances, there are but two sound bases of research. One is, a progressive critical examination of facts; the other, a clear philosophical treatment deduced from the whole of the facts, and arising out of the eternal realities of the religious feelings of mankind, free from all systematic prejudice.

Starting from the critico-historical pole, we must endeavour to discover the localities with which the

different myths were originally connected. We have, therefore, in so far as able, to ascertain which of the accounts are the earliest, which the most modern.

Beginning at the philosophical pole, we certainly cannot, after what has been said in the First Part of this Book, consider as the oldest the kosmogonical view, the gradual degradation of which into materialism is exhibited in the history of mythological Asia. But as to how far the kosmogonical view was an original and a living one in Egypt must be determined upon historical grounds. The main questions, therefore, to be answered, in order to arrive at a thorough understanding of Egyptian kosmogony, from a general historical point of view, will be the following. Which are the ideal and which the historical elements in the orders of Gods, and in the accounts given of the individual deities they contain? Do the separate localities in the country represent logical differences in their conceptions? Which of the two views turns out to be the more ancient in Egypt : the ideal, or the material ; the astronomico-natural-historical, or the speculative? Lastly, are there any names and notices which we cannot explain from the Egyptian point of view? and in what direction do they point?

In order to prevent the slightest misunderstanding as to the line of criticism here adopted, I shall embody all I have to say upon it as theses, the proof of which I shall carry out only in so far as they have immediate reference to Egypt, and where the authority for them is not already to be found in the facts stated in the First Book, and in the treatise of Lepsius.

My fundamental conclusions in respect to what I have to advance in this cursory analysis of Egyptian mythology were formed between the years 1835 and 1838, from the study of the hieroglyphics and monuments. But as early as the year 1815 I had laid down the method and general view of historical development and

research in my "Outlines of the Connexion between Philology, History, and Philosophy," especially as regards historical research into language and religion. What I there aimed at, and had sketched out for myself, I have for the last forty years methodically carried out in various parallel pursuits.

In the year 1811, and more especially in 1813, Schelling's immortal "Lectures upon Academical Studies" suggested to myself, and to many others, the leading ideas in this view of the history of mind. But it was only in the summer of 1838 that I became acquainted with his "Lectures on the Philosophy of Mythology." Although I cannot agree with the method there proposed, still the great thoughts contained in them prompted me to many farther researches, so that I feel myself deeply indebted to the man whose name and portrait form the frontispiece of this volume.

It is with the same feelings of gratitude that I take this opportunity of mentioning the name of another great master of philology and antiquarian lore — of Creuzer, who, when these lines were written, was in the enjoyment of a green old age, but who has since departed. His learned work, the "Symbolik," has been of essential service to myself, and many others, in this department.

We may hesitate to adopt Schelling's latter system, and to explain the mythological formations by the play of intellectual antitheses and by the development of discriminations in the Deity itself, considered in its eternal Being; we may consider the psychological and historical method, perhaps, as the necessary accommodation of, and supplement to, the ontological; but the author of the "Philosophy of Identity" will always have to be regarded as the great founder of the higher views of mythology, and as the promoter, therefore, of deeper researches into it. For we only investigate successfully that which we combine with the idea of the

object to be investigated, and we can only discover in history what we understand in the idea.

But I consider it also as a further duty, and this as the proper place for performing it, to bear witness to a fact which will shortly be elucidated in detail in the edition of his "Lectures on the Philosophy of Mythology" already announced.

On leaving Rome in the spring of 1838, where, in the earlier months of that year, I had composed the "Outlines of Egyptian Chronology and Mythology," I met Schelling at Munich, and, at his request, I gave him the actual results of my researches into Egyptian mythology, derived from the hieroglyphical monuments with which he was up to that time totally unacquainted. He was quite ignorant that Set or Typhon was worshipped as a beneficent God throughout all Egypt down to the fourteenth century B.C. He then showed me, on a manuscript sheet of his "Mythological Lectures" of the previous year, that, without being at all aware of this historical fact, he had been brought, on mere speculative grounds, to lay down as a postulate, that

Typhon must, at some early period, have been considered by the Egyptians as a beneficent and powerful God.

He wished that when my own work appeared I should bear testimony to this fact; and I have great pleasure in taking this opportunity of fulfilling my promise.

It will appear a remarkable and interesting fact to the thinking and sympathizing reader, to find here another instance of the idea anticipating the reality. It was so with Kepler, when he was investigating the laws of the motions of the heavenly bodies. It was so with Kant, when he sought for Uranos to complete the planetary system. It was so with Winckelmann, when, from the style of the then dumb monuments of Egypt, but which now speak so clearly, he guessed their right age;

whereas subsequent inquirers read them absolutely in the reverse order, taking the older monuments for the more modern, and the more modern (Ptolemaic and Roman) for the more ancient, because they were the less finished.

In respect to the researches of Creuzer, his views, as well as those of his unqualified opponents who have gradually ceased from their attacks, suffer from ignorance of the hieroglyphics. But we see from his labours, that, had this discovery reached Germany at an earlier period, no one would have had greater pleasure in adopting it; instead of treating it superciliously, as others have done, either with a professorial air or else with ludicrous ignorance, throwing out hints of not believing it, or using it frivolously from not understanding it.

But Creuzer has the additional merit of having pointed out that the Egyptian religion, especially the Osiris-worship, originally was connected with deep metaphysical as well as ethical ideas, and that the kosmic egg was not laid by the Neo-Platonists.

The credit and the glory in intellectual matters consist not merely in discovering new facts, but also in penetrating the idea of those already known, after careful scientific scrutiny of what is better or less well authenticated. For both these qualities the name of Creuzer will always be mentioned with the highest respect.

B.

THE THREE ORDERS OF GODS IN HERODOTUS ARE CORROBORATED BY THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS AND AUTHORITIES, AND ARE ALSO MORE FULLY DETAILED AND CORRECTED.

I.

HERODOTUS AND THE EGYPTIAN ANNALISTS.

IN reference to what has been stated in the First Book, and in the Appendix of Authorities, as well as to the dictum of Lepsius,

That Herodotus was in error in representing the Circle of Osiris as belonging to the Third Order instead of the First,

it will be sufficient to elucidate the leading facts by the following synopsis, and thus render it easy for our readers to form an independent judgment for themselves.

I. The First Seven Reigns of the Gods :

MANETHO.	THE TURIN PAPYRUS.
1. Hephaistos (Ptah, God of Memphis).	1. }
2. Helios (Ra, God of Heliopolis), son.	2. } (a lacuna in the Papyrus).
3. "Agathodaimon" (probably not Num, God of the Thebans). "Ares, son of Helios," does not correspond with Maû, Mû, but Sus, Sôsis.	3. }
4. Kronos (Seb, father of Osiris).	4. Seb }
5. Osiris (Hesiri).	5. Hesiri } (according to Seyffarth).
6. Typhon (Set, brother of Osiris).	6. Set.
7. Horus (Her, son of Osiris).	7. Her.

The agreement between the Papyrus, in so far as it is preserved, and Manetho is too obvious not to render it imperative upon us to give the preference to Seyffarth's testimony over that of Salvolini. Besides which, if Seb were omitted, we should be forced to introduce Isis as the fifth; and there is no instance of Goddesses being found in the series of the First Order of Gods or dynasties of Gods—not even in the case of Isis herself, who is preeminently called the Great Goddess.

But after this there is a total discrepancy between the dates in the epitome of Manetho and the Papyrus. The epitome passes directly on to Bytis, whom we must identify as a strictly human king belonging to historical tradition. On the other hand, the Papyrus gives two other orders of ruling Gods. The section in the series of Gods after Horus is fully established by general testimony: in the Papyrus even a mythological period is calculated by the time which has elapsed since the reign of Horus, that is, from the beginning of the reign of Thoth.

The Second Order contains five Gods, reckoning Thoth among them: if we transpose him back to the First, it has four.

II. 8. Thoth.

9. Ma.

10. . . .

11. . . .

12. . . .

The Third Order commences authentically with

III. 13. The name of the God is wanting; but the section is marked.

We do not know, again, of how many Gods this order consisted; and whether any, and how many, human kings prior to Menes succeeded them. It can hardly be accidental that the number twelve of Herodotus is here mentioned. It would seem to be the sum

total of the first two orders, which is very natural according to the literal sense of the account in Herodotus. We may also find a way of accounting for the discrepancy between the eight Gods which he gives to the First Order, and the seven in the Papyrus. Thoth, the eighth, whose sacred name was "the Eighth," constituted originally the last member of the series of seven, as we shall show hereafter, in Asia as well as Egypt. The number eight might therefore either be explained by supposing that the informants of Herodotus added Thoth on to the seven; or we might even suppose that they would not exclude Isis, the venerated Queen of Heaven, from the highest order. Lepsius has shown that some of the accounts of a later date do make such an exception in favour of the Queen of Heaven (after the deposition of Set), and give her rank next to Osiris. But this is only for the purpose of representing groups of the highest deities then worshipped, not of giving a succession of the orders of Gods in the primeval world. The only difference, therefore, is that Herodotus adopted two traditions, and mixed them up together. According to one of them, Horus was the last divine ruler, which is certainly the older and better authenticated tradition. But then he was told that there were three orders: the eight Gods became twelve by the addition of four new Gods (fragments of the idea of the earliest pre-Osirite Gods), and then again, in the Third Order, others of like origin and held in equal veneration. Jumbling these two traditions together, he placed the Osiris Gods after his twelve, some of whom were also Goddesses.

But the existence of this discrepancy must not cause us to overlook the accordance in the two principal features. In the first place, he, as well as the authentic Egyptian tradition, makes the Osiris circle an exclusive one; and in the second place, it is always the final one.

It remains, therefore, to be seen whether the number

eight, of which Thoth was the last, does not belong to the original tradition.

We will endeavour, therefore, to establish the relation of Herodotus to the groups of Gods which are found on the monuments, and which Lepsius has analysed so thoroughly and critically.

II.

HERODOTUS AND THE MONUMENTS.

THE whole matter may be comprised in the following thesis:

- I. The number of the seven Great Gods, alluded to by the Egyptian authorities, is the same as that of the greater groups, if we reduce them to the supreme Gods (not including the Goddesses).

There is no authority whatever in the monuments for the number twelve, considering them as independent and original Gods. All the dreams about the signs of the zodiac would consequently fall to the ground, even had not the Egyptians been ignorant of the ecliptic before the time of Trajan, and even had the number twelve not been clearly shown to be a novelty to the Greeks themselves.

The evidence in favour of the number seven will be found in the illustration of the following theses:

- II. The seven Gods are divided into two groups: the last four are always the Osiris-Gods (Seb, Osiris, Set, Horus; after the deposition of Set sometimes Isis, sometimes Thoth is introduced).
- III. The three Gods of the First Order are interchangeable, but are reducible to two vast types, that of the Lower and that of the Upper Country (Memphis and Thebes); the latter is devoted exclusively to the worship of the sun, in the former

Ptah, as a kosmogonical deity, takes precedence of Helios.

The two series which Lepsius arrives at are as follows:

according to the Memphitic doctrine,

Ptah — Ra — Mu;

according to the Theban doctrine,

Atmu — Mentu — Mu.

The third God is the same in both: Maû, Mu, i. e. splendour, the son of Ra-Helios. But in the Theban representations, instead of the latter, the two phases of the sun take precedence of him:

1. Atumu, "the sun of the night," the setting sun, sun of the Lower World.

2. Mentu, "the sun of the day," the rising sun.

Atumu, or Atmu, may be resolved into AT-MU, i. e. "creator of the mother," or night, out of which Light proceeds; an expression which has merely a kosmogonical sense, like all the other known Egyptian names, not a physical one. Mentu is MNTU (the passive participle of mn, to establish, to found), like matu, the justified, deceased, from ma.

IV. The Theban form implies the existence of an earlier one, in which the kosmogonical element was represented.

One might be tempted to suppose, viewing it by itself, that the worship of Ra in Upper Egypt was originally the only prevailing one. But the facts are the other way. Amun and Num appear there as local deities at the first dawn of our chronological history. But Helios himself is omitted in that order: it is only the partial manifestations and derivatives of Ra which appear as the First Order. We are driven, therefore, to the assumption that when the worship of the sun became general in Upper Egypt, it superseded the first primeval

deity Ptah, the creator of the world, or some similar one. Mu, who is included in both Orders, may also perhaps not have been originally included at Memphis: for he is only another form of Helios, who takes precedence of him.

V. In the first series of Manetho, a native of Lower Egypt (Hephaistos, Helios, Agathodaimon), there are only two powers, the Demiurgic, or World-creating, and the Sun-God: the third is probably a repetition of the latter.

The third name, Agathodaimon (of which we think the reading or restoration is certain), has hitherto generally passed for a translation of Nnm (Kneph, Khnumis), the God of the Thebaid. But, as Lepsius has demonstrated, this cannot be shown to have been the case anterior to Roman times. John of Antioch, on the other hand, a learned author of the 7th Christian century, has a series of the first four divine rulers of Egypt, which is evidently in the style of Manetho, and, according to Lepsius, borrowed from an extract of Africanus not preserved by Syncellus:

Hephaistos — Helios, his son — Sôs, his son, Ares in Greek — Kēb, Kronos in Greek.

Kēb is Seb. The demotic letter Djandja originated in the Egyptian K. Seb was certainly pronounced in later times Djeb. But the name which is wholly new is the third, Sôs, or in Egyptian Su, which is not to be considered as the later pronunciation of Mu, but as Sua, Sur, south. Mu, besides, is also called En-hur (He in, or from, heaven), Onuris in Greek.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ The Latin extract of Africanus in Scaliger's "Barbarus" calls the first three Gods, "Ifestum, Solem, et Osinosirim." Lepsius takes the last name to be a junction of Soris and Osiris. I think it contains the two names of the old Mu, and I read Sosin-Onurim.

VI. The connexion is precisely the same with the oldest Theban names, only that here the demiurgic principle appears in a twofold shape (Amun, Num, Mu): afterwards, however, the solar element occupied the first two places, which answers no possible idea (Atumu — Mentu — Mu).

Mu, Maû (splendour), is the Theban name of the Sun-God, as Ra is in the Lower Country; he also occupies the place of Ra, the third. The Sun-God can never be omitted, either in one form or other; for the Sun-worship, symbolically, is the most universal, although it cannot be called the most ancient basis of Egyptian religion. The Sun is the Revealer, the God of Light. Amun and Num originally corresponded to him. In the Thebaid, according to the derivation of Amun given by Manetho, which has a sound linguistic basis and the highest authority of the times, he is, as contradistinguished from Helios, the Hidden God. Num is the provincial mode of expressing the idea of Ammon. The combination of Amun with Ra is a later phase, and Amun-Ra is a comparatively modern God.

The reasons adduced by Lepsius, why Ammon is not met with earlier than the 20th Dynasty, are no proof that he was not worshipped in Thebes and the Thebaid at a very early date: it is admitted on all hands that he was. It is true that Num-Kneph, subsequently (in the 18th Dynasty)⁹⁰, comes after Hor and as the God of the Cataracts; but here we are dealing with the age before Menes, and with the supreme provincial deities.

VII. The third Power is Seb, i. e. Time, which necessarily implies the universe as regulated by the starry heaven, and then by Helios especially. It was with this third Power that man came into the world.

VIII. The Osiris circle only represents a single idea; Osiris in Southern Egypt, Set in the Delta: it

⁹⁰ Lepsius, Vorlesung, p. 25.

comprises in itself all that went before, and subordinates it to its own idea, that of God as the Lord, as the deity of the human soul.

The junction of Osiris and Set cannot be older than Menes and his union of the two countries. The fundamental idea of them both is not merely the glorification of the sun, but also the worship of the primitive creative power. Historically, the earliest traces of the existence of Set are in Palestine and Aramæa, those of Osiris are as yet not discovered. Horus, however, bears to this latter circle the same relation that Helios did to the first: the revealed, revealing, mediating God. This is the reason why he is frequently represented as "the Eighth," conducting the bark of the Gods, with the seven Great Gods, among whom he also appears in the place of Set after his deposition.

IX. Not only the female divinities, but, with the exception of Thoth, "the Eighth," the Hermes-Hercules, the revealing unity of the seven, none of the Gods of the second and third order exhibit any development in the idea; all that we discover in them is either the symbolical expression of subordinate ideas or real contrasts, or strictly local parallel developments. The whole system is the mere outgrowth of debased religious feeling.

Hence it appears, that the account given by Herodotus, of Horus being the last Divine king, was the representation of the religious views entertained in the time of Menes.

X. The supposed existence of Triads, consisting of a God and Goddess and their Son, is as unscientific as it is unhistorical.

It has been the custom to designate the God, the Wife, and the Son, a triad, owing to a blunder of Champollion. There is nothing more opposed to science as well as

history, than to comprise under the term triad anything philosophical or speculative. To make a triad, it must be shown that there is an absolute unity in the trinity, as idea and as doctrine. The Wife is the female complement, the reflex of the idea, which is designated or intimated by the God: either as the Receptive, contrasted with the Begetting; or (what is essentially the same) Matter, as contrasted with the Creative Power. The earth, for instance, in contrast to the sun: in Egyptian the moon was not a Goddess, but a God. Now, if the Son of these two be the union of the ideal contrast, together with progression in the kosmogonical realisation, the above designation has a meaning, but only in the later mythology. For there is no female principle whatever in the earliest, precisely because the idea still predominates over the symbol of human personality. No arrangement, therefore, arising out of such a juxtaposition as this, has the slightest value, either as regards the idea or history.

XI. All the series of Gods on the monuments, even the earliest and fullest—those of the 6th Dynasty, which consist of fourteen—may be reduced to the order of seven established by Menes.

This series of Gods, which Lepsius alone has illustrated, resolves itself, in regard to the last eight (7 to 14), into the four well-known derivatives of the circle of Osiris. In like manner, the fifth pair, Mu and Tefnu, turn out to be Mu, the third. The two male deities immediately preceding him are almost identical with each other. They are both designated by the scarabæus, the letter A being affixed to the former, RR to the latter; of these the first, R, is only the explanatory complement of the tonic sign (KPR)⁹¹, which frequently takes the single R as its complement. Now this is the way in which the beetle is usually written: the former of these words,

⁹¹ As Lepsius now reads it, following Birch, instead of TR.

therefore, must be understood in its intellectual sense, of which there is no doubt, as "the Being." It signifies, indeed, the form, the type of things, or of the world. In other words, this duality, which, according to Lepsius, occurs elsewhere, is the world-creating (de-miurgic) element in its necessary twofold capacity as creating deity and as created world.

The first two representations only remain to be examined. The second God is Atmu (*Tum*, the setting sun), who is always associated with his opposite, the rising sun, Mentu; he is in fact elsewhere the first God of the Theban series. Here, however, there is a sign which has been carelessly engraved, and which must be either the knee (with the addition of I, that is, KAI), or else the calf's head, FNT. The former has no meaning⁹²; the latter has been unequivocally identified by Lepsius on two Memphite cubits of the 18th and 19th Dynasties, and that among the Great Gods of the Osiris cycle (the third after Ra and Maû). There is, consequently, no difficulty about the explanation: FNTI = MNTU. Fenti is the Sun-God aspiring upwards, as Strength (see the Comparative Dictionary in the following volume, under the word Nif): MNTU, the Established, Fixed, from mn, to establish, to settle, with the ending of the passive participle (like matu, the justified, from ma); that is, the world or earth created by Ra.

We thus obtain the following seven :

- I. 1. 2. Fenti (Mentu) and Atmu (Tum): rising and setting sun.
- II. 3. 4. Khepera and Kheperer: creator of the world and world; form and formed.

⁹² We cannot suppose him to be the God of the worshiping, offering, KAR or KA (the two arms raised in attitude of prayer), the way of writing it is so different.

- III. 5. 6. Mu and Tefnut (splendour and father's hall?).⁹³
- IV. 7. 8. Seb and Nu (or Nut-hur) (star and hall of Heaven; time and space).
- V. 9. 10. Osiris and Isis (the Lord in the Upper Country).
- VI. 11. 12. Set and Nephthys (the Lord in the Delta).
- VII. 13. 14. Horus and a Goddess, probably Hathor (the revealer of the father).

In this Theban representation the dualism runs through the whole. It is represented in the two former by two male antitheses; in the others by a God and Goddess. The symbolical and contemplative element is nowhere more visibly depicted than in this instance. Thus all the deities represented on the monuments fall within the above series of seven Gods. The whole number is arranged in two groups. The last four are taken from the Osiris cycle; the first three from representations in which the Sun-God appears singly or predominantly. But it is not a whit more easy to explain the number seven by this view of it, or the transition to eight; for the former Gods themselves grew out of the conjunction of four Powers, some of which displaced the others (owing to the prevalence of the Sun-worship); some are co-ordinate as parallel members. They consequently cannot contain the basis of the seven, any more than the junction of the seven with the eight by means of Thoth-Hermes-Hercules can be explained by them.

XII. The numbers Seven and Eight are explainable by the oldest kosmogonical system and primitive worship of the seven children of Ptah-Hephaistos.

⁹³ The position of the words in Tef-nut is exactly the reverse of the usual order, in which the genitive comes first; as in Hes-iri, Atar-beki (Hathoris urbs, from *baki*, city). It is the same in Aramæan for the name Baal-bek (Baal's city, Ἡλιόπολις).

Herodotus mentions (iii. 37.) that the seven sons of Ptah were shown to Kambyzes in the sanctuary of the royal city of Memphis erected by Menes. They were dwarfish figures, like their father, set up in the adytum of the temple; and were exactly like those figures on the Phœnician ships, he says, which they call Pataikoi.

We shall endeavour, in the later sections of this work, to explain the importance they possess for both Europe and Asia, and shall only call attention here to two points. We shall find among the Phœnicians the seven children of Sydyk (the truthful, just), and an eighth, Esmun (—"the Eighth"—), the Æsculapius of the Greeks: the seven are called Kabiri, or the strong. We shall see, in the second place, that seven is neither an accidental nor an ideal number; it was either borrowed from the phase of the moon (the week) or it represented the universe by the planetary solar cycle; the five planets with the sun and moon being symbolical of the kosmogonical powers of the universe, the unity of which is called the Father of the Strong, or the Soul of the World.

The identity of this representation with the first group of Egyptian Gods, as regards the number seven and its transition to eight, is decisive for this second explanation. We cannot explain these two numbers and their indissoluble connexion from the groups of Gods themselves. Besides, the adytum of the temple of Ptah was dedicated by Menes to the primitive worship of that God and his seven attendants.

In all the representations of Thoth, the God of Sesennu (Ashmunain), "the city of the Eighth," he is always represented, in conjunction with the seven Gods, as the one who reveals himself. *Thoth* ("the word") is the Unity which has become the Assistant, the Revealer.

With this idea, all the representations and all the series of Gods both in the annalists and on the monu-

ments can be explained. By means of it, also, the relation between the religious feeling of Egypt and the primitive religion of Western Asia becomes intelligible.

C.

MORE DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE IDEAL AND LOCAL ELEMENTS OF THE ORIGINAL EGYPTIAN PANTHEON.

I. THE fundamental elements of the Egyptian Pantheon, according to their local centres.

The propositions already established have made us acquainted with the following Gods in their different localities :

1. PTAH, the kosmogonic element, indigenous in the Lower Country: so that when Menes united the two countries he became the deity of the shrine of Memphis.
2. SET, the (Phallic) God of the Delta: universally worshipped in the earliest times of the Old Empire: a kosmogonico-physical element, like Osiris, but the ceremonies connected with his worship were of a cruel character.
3. RA, the God of On or Heliopolis, in the Delta, not far from the site of Memphis in later times: pure sun-worship.
4. HER, corresponding to Ra, in the Upper Country.
5. AMUN, in the city of Thebes.
6. NUM, in the Theban Nome, and especially at the Cataracts, both of them of a kosmogonico-physical character: with a tendency to animal-worship.
7. OSIRIS (with ISIS), the God of Abydos, in Upper Egypt: the most complete kosmogonico-psychical

element: an entire contrast to the system of Amun-Num. Horus is the Thoth of this system.

In the Upper Country: Her—Amun—Num—Osiris.

In the Lower Country: Ptah—Set—Ra.

The great fact connected with Menes is that *he established the unity of the empire upon the worship of Osiris*, which gradually absorbed the other elements. Isis is the Queen of Heaven, the All-Mother, All-Goddess. Osiris himself is the Sun-God (not the disk), without ceasing to be the real Lord, the Self-created, the God of the human Soul.

The proof of all these points is contained in the facts adduced in the First Book, and in the above theses. For the full explanation, however, we must go beyond Egyptian researches. The myth of Osiris is Asiatic.

II. The symbol of the Sun is of the highest antiquity in Egypt, but the belief in the sun as a divinity is neither the beginning nor the end, but simply a transitional point which became fixed in the obscured religious consciousness of Egypt.

Lepsius has maintained that the sun-worship was primeval in Egypt in two senses, a symbolical one, in so far as the sun is considered as the symbol of creating, sustaining, and destructive divine power, and the other in the fetish-worship of the sun's disk. But all history proves that feticism is the genuine type of the African mind when left to itself, or of Asiatic religious feeling embodied in an African shape.

It is therefore impossible for me to acquiesce in Lepsius' view without some qualification. I think that in Egypt, as elsewhere, the oldest form of religion was kosmogonical, and that this is exhibited strictly in Ptah, although the Egyptians very early merged it in the symbolism of the sun.

But even the kosmogonical element alone can never be the basis of the religious worship of a people aspiring

to civilisation, and this the Egyptians were in a high degree.

As has been shown in the First Part of this Book, the foundation of all worship is laid in the consciousness of the immediate relation between the human soul and God and the universe. It is hardly possible that nations, and least of all that Asiatics, should have been led to a common form of worship by the belief in the creative power of nature operating in the sun and stars: although at a certain stage of the mythological process the astral element is found in Asia as a suitable symbol of the relation of the soul to God.

III. The psychical element, or Osiris-worship, is the real intellectual centre of the worship or religious consciousness of the Egyptians.

The psychical element is certainly of quite as early date as the kosmogonical in the Osiris-cycle: but earliest of all in the Set of the Delta, who appears in Asia as the earliest and highest Semitic God. The joint worship of Set and Osiris was introduced at the union, and is consequently coeval with, or posterior to, Menes. Osiris himself, the God of Upper Egypt, is the central point from the time of Menes. Everything that is most deep-seated in the religious feeling of the people is connected with him,—the doctrine of the immortality of the soul in conjunction with transmigration. In this circle, therefore, the internal relation of the human soul to God was the feeling which originally predominated. The perfect soul is called the *Son of God*, Osiris: man, after he had passed through the judgment of the lower world, becomes united with his Father.

It was, consequently, very natural, and even necessary, that the religious union on which Menes founded the unity of the empire of the Upper and Lower Country, should find its expression in the Osiris-worship of This (Abydos). In other words, it was the profound

and humanizing principle involved in the Osiris-worship, as contrasted with the other forms of Egyptian religion, which enabled the Prince of This to establish that unity in Egypt to all time. The cognate deity, Set, had a bloody service of human victims. Civilisation, the creation of the empire, the whole development of the Egyptians as the people who formed the link between Asia and Europe, and who represented the primitive consciousness of man in Asia as to language and religion—all this came not from the Delta, the land of Set, but from the South, from Upper Egypt.

But this march of civilisation from the Thebais to Lower Egypt does not warrant the adventurous assertion that it came from Ethiopia, or even from India! Egypt was colonized thousands of years before from the North, by way of Palestine, and that by Asiatics, who brought their language and Gods with them.

Osiris absorbed within himself and his own circle all the other elements: they all exist in him, but he is in none of them all.

Historical elements were introduced into the myth of Osiris, possibly already in the oldest time, prior to Menes. But there is nothing so alien to the Egyptian mind as hero-worship, and upon this point, as well as others, Herodotus has given us correct information.

We shall find positive proof of this in Manetho's account of the kings prior to Menes, which will be hereafter discussed. The historical criticism of that statement will show that nothing was farther from the intention of Manetho and his authorities, than tracing the succession from the rule of Gods to that of men by means of deified mortals.

IV. The dynasties of Gods, and the basis of them, the four Powers, are philosophical forms of mind, and of the consciousness which recognized God in the universe and in the mind.

What did the Egyptians understand by rule of the Gods, and succession of the rule of different Gods?

It appears from the foregoing observations, and from the facts of the case, that this does not imply, as some have supposed, a series of different worships and religions. The very dates attached to the reigns of the Gods are self-evidently not historical. They are astronomical cycles, most of which, as Lepsius has shown, prove at once that such is their character. But as dates they naturally have no value at all, except in so far as they give us an insight into the notions and the dreams of the Egyptians about matters which they did not understand. They imply two things, which are comparatively modern: first, the discovery of the Sothic cycle, which cycle could astronomically not exist earlier than three thousand years B. C., a very late date for the formation of a mythology: secondly, that the union of the cycle of Gods which has been described, and which had been gradually effected in the different Nomes, was complete when those lists were made.

The real problem to be solved lies in the question just alluded to: What was the fundamental idea in the series of dynasties of Gods?

The proper method of research will here be the exhaustive one, by first of all gradually eliminating everything which is inadmissible. The idea of astronomical periods in which the world gradually came to existence, as devised in modern systems of natural science, cannot now be seriously entertained. Yet who will venture to deny that there may have been two views about these natural periods, an ideal and an historical one? The former is based upon the assumption adopted by all ancient peoples, we might say upon the primitive consciousness of the qualified unity of, and distinction between, God and World. The visible creation exhibits forces which animate and give shape to matter: this thought is reflected, when

viewed historically, as the ideal Foretime in which divine powers predominated, either as world-forming, or as preparatory to the formation of the world. We call this accordingly the ideal element. The historical element, therefore, in these series of Gods could only be at most a reminiscence of those struggles of nature, of which the earliest race of men were witnesses. But here we are not called upon to resort to an assumption which is so difficult of proof. Even without vast revolutions, many violent transitions, disturbances, and destructive agencies must have been at work, which were very detrimental to life. Human society then was incompletely organized. There existed no combination of power furnishing the means of counter-acting them by systematic efforts and preconcerted arrangements, by which man himself, his domestic animals, his crops and fruits were protected.

It is true that all this will not explain the development of the series, the idea of a succession of individual reigns of Gods. But we have, at all events, obtained a landmark for understanding this succession, in the well-established historical fact, that the series of the seven predominating deities was only gradually formed, and that indeed by a mixed process, partly ideal, partly historical and local. By this means we arrived at four original representations; and the deities who corresponded to them, which we have accordingly called the Powers or Knots of the development of religious feeling, were the following four :

The *kosmogonical*, or *world-creating*, power in Ptah-Hephaistos;

The *solar power* in Ra-Helios (Maû, Mentu, Atumu, Hor), as the highest power of nature;

Time and space, as the conditions of human development (Seb and Nu);

The *psychical power*, or rule of divine mind in man (Osiris).

Now when later Egyptian or Egyptianizing philosophers say that Hephaistos (Ptah) was the first king, and in fact endless time, because no separation had then taken place, whereas with his successor, Helios, the limitation is introduced, this cannot be taken in a material sense. For how are we to explain the series of the other reigns and their succession? But if we go back from the second reign, the Sun, about the meaning of which there can be no mistake, to the first, what could this be but the idea of the Kosmos being a unity in various shapes, gradually organized and completed? And Ptah is really represented in Egyptian as a kosmogonical deity, as a world-creating power, and his daughter, Mû, is no less a personage than this self-organizing All, the Kosmos. Ptah is the oldest God, because as yet unendowed with the symbols of the sun. On the other hand, he is not the ideal, the God considered in himself, but simply as manifesting himself in creation, the creator of the world, father of this universe, which is considered as the true expression of the divine being. In that quality also he is the creator of man, whom we see him forming (just like Num): but he is more accurately defined as the God who shapes the kosmic egg on the potter's wheel. He is pre-eminently Tatanen, the Former. But what do we find beyond Helios? A succession of Gods endowed with the symbols of the sun, and representing nothing but the solar principle in a constant progressive course of separation and antithesis. The God-consciousness now necessarily advances, has nothing real to worship but man, the human soul, the subjective starting-point. God appears as man in Osiris. But man commenced in time (Father Seb) and in space (Nut-hur); for they are both implied conceptions of the human mind. Now this Lord, the God of man, is manifested in a duality (Set and Osiris), but this duality is the work of political union: for as Osiris originates in Upper Egypt, so Set

represents the same idea of the Lord in the Delta. They both enter into the solar symbolism, as they do into the kosmogonical system; but they are both most strongly expressed in Set, the Phallic God preeminently, and the type of the Sothiac sun.

Man is consequently not contemplated as having existed at this supposed period when the powers of nature were predominant, either as the general regulating power, or as the sun, that phase which exercises the strongest and most beneficial influence on the life of man and on the earth. A time is also assigned to the reign of Helios, by some even to that of Hephaistos: but strictly astronomico-physical cycles. The reign of Seb is the primeval time of the human race, which recognizes Osiris as its Lord. Osiris implies the existence of man, for he is the Lord of man.

Now Osiris and Isis are sometimes represented as Egyptians, sometimes Isis comes from Phœnicia. Which portions of the myth are ideal, which symbolical and historical, we shall only be able to ascertain from a higher point of view. Suffice it here to have established that Osiris is the God of man, the Lord, evidently the last in the physical view, and yet also the first, because mind is antecedent to all nature.

The idea of the whole is explained by acknowledging this intellectual principle; but the sequence in the order of the divine dynasties is explained by the historical element.

V. Osiris is no more a hero, a deified man, than any other Egyptian God is: the myth about him, in its origin of a strictly ideal and physical symbolical character, only becomes historical by means of reminiscences connected with the introduction of Osiris-worship into Egypt.

We have seen that all the great series of Gods ended with the Osiris circle. But this latter is clearly the

psychical element, as that in which the kosmic element attains to complete consciousness. Osiris is not a deified man, but man justified is Osiris. What appears to be historical in the myth is, on the contrary, undisguisedly symbolical: Osiris is the God of the human soul, not merely of nature.

Osiris is the human God: the God-man. According to this highest system, the other Gods are mere personifications of powers in matter, or matters in which the powers are manifested. Osiris is the mind, that is, the God of whom we become conscious through time, the personal God, father of the human race, living for the human race. Osiris, as man, is symbolized both in the kosmogonical and the astral circles, for all nature is the symbol of the human mind: he also symbolizes in himself as man the creative power of nature (phallically), in conjunction with Isis-Earth.

In other words, all the religion of the other circles is in Osiris, but Osiris is not in them. The human soul only properly becomes self-conscious by means of conscience and reason, of will, of action, and of a destiny connected with its own deeds. This is the sphere of the Good and the True. Osiris is the judge of the soul, or the God of the world of spirits.

Osiris is never represented in an animal form, but called the Bull: Isis, the earth, is represented as a cow.

As regards the connexion between Osiris and Set, which has been established in a previous page, Osiris seems to be the purely Egyptian form of an early Asiatic idea of the Deity sacrificing himself in creation and coming to life again in man. So Baal, so Adonis. His history is that of a God-man, not as a real man, but as the idea of man. The history of Osiris is the history of the circle of the year, of the sun dying away and resuscitating itself again. But his name is a riddle: of the component elements of his hieroglyphical name Isis is the first. For Osiris is written Hes-iri.

The grammatical sense of this we know to be "throne of the pupil of the eye," "Isis of the eye" (or "pupil"). Now as neither of these conveys any meaning, and as there are other instances of the construction being reversed, and this in the oldest times, we may render it by "eye of Isis," or "eye of the throne," which would be the primeval mode of expressing "eye of the world, soul of the world." For we have seen that the very same idea is expressed in Hathor (house of Horus, of God), and probably in Tefnut also: the meaning of which is "father's hall." But it is highly improbable that this was really the origin of the name of Osiris. Nor must we overlook the fact that Osiris is only found in hieroglyphic characters, never in phonetic. It is very probable, therefore, that it is not originally Egyptian, but the primitive Asiatic epithet of Almighty God, the Lord.

The case is different with Set, the primeval name of God in Asia. This word is derived from a root which is one of the most copious, and at the same time the most varied in signification, in the Egyptian language. He appears as the God of Lower Egypt, afterwards as the violent, the hostile. This latter we are unable to explain from the present point of view of the inquiry.

We can, however, see even now that the three enigmas of the Egyptian religion, the migration of souls, the immortality of the soul, and animal-worship, are inseparably connected, and have their unity in Osiris and his worship. The soul of man passes through all sorts of animals, and the animals may become men again. This accounts for the sanctity of the animal as such; and we understand why the destructive powers of the animal would be held as sacred as the more gentle and beneficent.

The Egypto-African element in the original doctrine of the soul's immortality is the anxious care for the preservation of the dead body. The notion of this

process of the purification of the soul being dependent upon the preservation of the body was not an original one, but the mummy of a defunct idea, or one of which the signification was lost. But the most sacred customs, and the most gigantic efforts of the people, all originated in that superstition.

We must, at the same time, not lose sight of the fact, that the nation never lost the consciousness of that which produced these symbols, namely, Mind. It is the glory of the Egyptians that, in a certain way, they combined the two.

D.

PRELIMINARY RESULT.

I.

THE EGYPTIANS HAD NO HERO-WORSHIP: THE LATTER ORDER OF GODS ARE PURELY IDEAL; AND THE OLDEST HUMAN KINGS ARE NOT HEROES, BUT STRICTLY HISTORICAL, SACERDOTAL, ELECTIVE MONARCHS.

HERE again the information of Herodotus is in the main correct. Neither the "Book of the Dead" nor the monuments contain any mention of heroes or hero-worship. The Gods not comprised in the first seven, or their compendium the eighth, are evidently from their name and worship purely ideal, and so they seem to be indeed from their genealogies, which have been traced in the First Book.

But the only way of rendering the proof complete is by discountenancing the notion that Manetho described deified men in his human dynasties prior to Menes.

What he there narrates, on the contrary, is strict

history, that is, the primitive history of the state of the two Egypts, in so far as any records of it exist: consequently *the history of the beginnings of constitutional life.*

The establishment of this important point we have reserved for this place.

Manetho, according to Africanus, states, in the introduction to the thirty dynasties:

“After the Gods and Nekyes, the Demi-Gods, came the first dynasty of kings,” &c.

This passage must not be altered in accordance with the text of Eusebius in Syncellus, where the reading is:

“After the Gods and the Nekyes (dead) *and* Demi-Gods,” &c.⁹⁴

In the Armenian version of Eusebius⁹⁵ it is said, after the enumeration of the Gods, there were 13,900 years of reign down to Bytis. After that “heroes” reigned, and then three series of “other kings,” and the stupid extract concludes with these words:

“Then followed the reign of the Manes (souls of the dead) and Heroes for 5813 years.”

The confusion here is clear enough, for, had there been heroes and hero-worship in Egypt, their place would have been between the dynasties of Gods and Men. But here the Manes, who are clearly Nekyes, and the Heroes are said to reign, after at least three series of historical kings, of which the two latter are described locally and historically as Memphites and Thinites.

Africanus, however, to whom we must again refer, does not report such nonsense. He explains the Nekyes

⁹⁴ The word *καί*, which in our Appendix of Authorities has been inserted into the text of Africanus in Eusebius before *ἡμιθέους*, must therefore be erased.

⁹⁵ i. 19. See Appendix of Authorities: conf. the account in the First Book.

(which must be the translation of the Egyptian word for the dead) by the current Greek expression, Demi-Gods. This does not express exactly the Egyptian sense. Manetho must have translated by Nekyes the Egyptian *ma tu*, the justified, the departed, the blessed; a word derived from *ma*, to justify, with the derivative syllable of the past passive participle. It is the standing expression used in inscriptions on coffins and sarkophagi; indeed a king of the 12th Dynasty, in whose stead a woman reigns, has this very epithet appended to his name. Manes, therefore, is at all events the right translation of the Armenian word in Eusebius, with which I am unacquainted. "Demi-Gods" can only mean that the kings in question enjoyed especial honours; indeed we have seen divine honours paid even to historical kings by their successors, though they continued all the time to be regarded as historical fathers, grandfathers, or ancestors.

But who are these "Blessed?" The meaning of the word in this list has hitherto not been inquired into. The key to its explanation is to be found in the mention of King Bytis. It has been remarked above (p. 313.) and in the First Book (Chap. IV.), that the Bytis of Manetho is the same Bytis who is mentioned by Jamblichus as a prophet of Ammon the king (of the Gods), that is, one of his priests of the order of prophets.⁹⁶ As we find him described both as king and prophet, it is not an unwarranted assumption that he belonged to the first order of human kings. Now what could these kings, who are especially noted for their sanctity, have been but *sacerdotal kings*? The nature of the case, and the ancient traditions in the Hermetic books, would lead us to suppose that there was a sacerdotal race of kings prior to the warrior caste from which the kings were afterwards taken. It existed in Ethiopia for a

⁹⁶ See the Section about the Sacred Books in Book I.

long time, conjointly with the semblance of a monarchy. The privileges also which the priesthood are said in the sacred books to possess on the election of a king tend to the same conclusion. Now the sacerdotal kings, of whom Bytis was the first at Thebes, are called the "Blessed," as priests. In historic times, the priests, as the organs of the nation, pronounced the pious among the defunct kings, "the justified" in the judgment of the dead.

In this way we can understand the expression in Eusebius, where, after mentioning the rule of the Gods, which ended with Horus, he says:

"After this came a series of reigns down to Bytis, during 13,900 years."

It is clear that Bytis himself was not a God, so that he cannot have been the last of the divine rulers. But between the Gods and the "Blessed" we cannot suppose that ordinary kings intervened, for in that case they would be identical with those of the next series. Upon every ground, therefore, we are driven to the conclusion that Bytis was the *first of the sacerdotal kings*. On philological grounds this interpretation is quite admissible.

But then what becomes of the 13,900 years of Eusebius? Nothing at all — they are mythological, but still not cyclical. Eusebius, with his usual want of thought, supposed Manetho's list of human kings before Menes to constitute a new epoch, which is said to have lasted 5813 years. The sum total of the four preceding series of human kings, however, comprises 5212 years. Lepsius, therefore, has suggested in his "Introduction," that the reading is 1255 instead of 1855 years, when the reigns of the Blessed are mentioned. In that case the sum total would be 5812 years, or only one year less than Eusebius has assigned to what has been misunder-

stood as the reigns of Manes and Heroes. The statements in Manetho, therefore, as to the dates prior to Menes, would stand thus:

After the Gods the Blessed reigned -	1855 years,
then other kings - - - -	1817
then other kings (Memphites) -	1790
then other kings (Thinities) - -	350

Sum total of the rule of mortals }	5812 years.
before Menes - - - }	(5813)

In other words, the reigns of real human kings prior to Menes, not mere provincial princes, but such as claimed either to have governed the whole of Upper Egypt or the Lower Country, comprised nearly six thousand years. It is not impossible that the two latter series were contemporaneous, namely, the Thinities in Upper Egypt, and those who were inaccurately called Memphites in Central Egypt (for as Memphis was founded by Menes, the above title is not literally and historically exact): but still the contrast between the Upper and Lower Country is abvious. The Nome, indeed, in which Memphis was situated may have existed as a distinct district long before the building of the city of Menes; but the two former series, and those who are merely designated as "other kings," were evidently not contemporaneous. The simple question is, whether the second were also sacerdotal kings, or whether they were taken from the warrior caste? They were probably secular elected monarchs, a transitional class: they were no longer called "Blessed."

Manetho's statement, therefore, was this: that after the Gods (immediately or mediately after Horus), 13,900 years elapsed before the reign of Bytis, which is the version of Eusebius. This can only mean that, according to him, the reigns of the Gods after Horus

lasted 13,900 years, a speculative assumption, probably connected with the Sothiac period. This must be the age of the later Gods, to whom, according to Herodotus, Hercules belonged. In the Papyrus they begin with Thoth; and there is a break at the twelfth reign, so that at the thirteenth a new series commenced. The extract in Eusebius gives neither dates nor names, it merely states that the rule of the Gods lasted till the reign of Bytis. The annalists, as well as poets, make no mention of Bytis as a God, although, as we have seen, Jamblichus introduces him as a priest of Ammon. He therefore cannot be the last divine ruler, but must be the first historical human king. In an extract so brief and hastily made, it is not wonderful that he should not be again mentioned by him as the chief of the first order of human rulers. The case was precisely the same in the instance of Ammenemes, the chief of the 12th Dynasty. He is merely mentioned, and incidentally too, as being the successor of the kings of the 11th Dynasty at the close of it. After him all the kings of the 12th are mentioned by name, and yet he himself, the first of them, is omitted.

Now as Jamblichus⁹⁷ says that this Bytis was a Theban king, we may sum up historically the first period of authentic sovereignty as follows:

Historical Egypt was in the first instance an elective monarchy: its kings were elected from among the priests and probably by them, though the people had a share in the election; Bytis, the first of these sacerdotal kings, belonged to the priesthood of the temple of Ammon at Thebes. This first period lasted 1255 (1855) years.

⁹⁷ See Book I. Manetho, p. 70.

II.

THE NAMES AND MEANING OF THE EGYPTIAN GODS POINT TO
WESTERN ASIA.

THE last consideration brings us to the eve of the chronological history of Egypt, the age prior to Menes. It will be unravelled in all its bearings at the close of this volume, when the historical and political character of early Egypt comes under discussion. We must first of all extend the sphere of our mythological researches, and, in so doing, change the scene from Egypt to Asia.

In taking an historical survey of Egyptian mythology, that is, in searching after its epochs and origin from a purely Egyptian point of view, we have frequently traced a connexion with Asia, and especially with Palestine and Phœnicia. We discovered the still more infallible trace in language. The God Set, whose name has a root in Semitic Asia as well as in Egypt, and can be shown from the monuments to have been worshipped in Palestine, points to Asia. The myth of Osiris, again, we know to be strictly connected with Phœnicia. Thence came, or thither went, Isis. In fact, the etymology of Osiris and Isis cannot be naturally deduced from the Egyptian, any more than that of Ptah. Is it possible to discover the roots of their names and ideas among the historical Semites? and are there any earlier traces of Egyptian Gods in the Phœnician mythology?

We fortunately possess very valuable information about the kosmogonies, and a considerable addition has been made to it recently by the Armenian version of Eusebius and the Babylonian and Assyrian monuments and inscriptions, to which the researches of Gesenius, of Movers, and of Ewald had paved the way. We believe, also, that our amended text of Sankhuniathon, in the next volume, will throw considerable light upon them.

SECTION II.

THE CONNEXION BETWEEN THE EGYPTIAN VIEWS OF THE
DIVINE BEGINNINGS AND THOSE OF THE MYTHOLOGICAL
SEMITES.

THE results of our inquiries into the relation between Egypt and Asia, in regard to the earliest expressions of thought in language, have been already laid down. We shall not recur to them till we offer a general sketch of the history of Egypt at the close of this volume.

The case was different as to the connexion between the two countries in respect to their religious views, especially as to the beginnings of the world and the human race.

In dealing with that branch of the subject there were many facts which in the historical development of their mythology had heretofore only been considered or discussed from a lower point of view. But it is necessary to consider them from the higher ground of their importance.

We shall therefore give a synopsis of the historical result of previous investigations ; and primarily in reference to the relation of Egypt to the views of the mythological Semites, then to the traditions of the Hebrews ; and lastly, take a glance at the other Asiatic races, concluding with the Greeks.

A.

THE POINTS OF SIMILARITY IN THE ASSUMPTION OF
A SUCCESSION OF GODS, AND IN THEIR ORDER AND
IMPORT.

WE have seen that the original Egyptian Pantheon consisted of seven supreme Gods, who were said to have reigned successively in the primeval times, at the conclusion of which the existence of man was implied.

Upon closer examination it turned out, after the accidental elements had been eliminated, that there was a series of four divine reigns or kosmic ages, which resolved itself, when reduced to the primitive idea, into three.

They were as follows:

First: the God who created the world and the kosmos as a whole: kosmogonico-astral consciousness:

Ptah, in the Lower Country;
Amun }
Num } in the Upper Country.

Secondly: The Sun-God and the Sun, symbols and instruments of the power which controls and fructifies the earth: solar and telluric consciousness:

Ra under many names.

Thirdly: God, the creator of man and animal creation: Time (Kronos): consciousness of man:

Seb = Siu, Star = Time.

Fourthly: the God who governs the soul of man and the world; who rewards, and punishes, the Lord:

Osiris in the Upper Country;

Set in the Delta.

But these four are reducible to three:

Ptah — Ra — Set as Osiris.

The abstract idea of time is merely the early philosophical mode of transferring the first, or kosmogonical, conception into the human. Time and space (Seb and Nut) are just as much implied by the creation of the rest of the universe as they are by the creation of man. It is only through it that they become realities. It is that spiritual paternity which is the direct connecting link between Osiris and their original religious ideas : the peculiar power which the solar symbol exercised over the Egyptian mind will not explain it.

Hence we obtain the following series :

Kosmogonico-astral consciousness : -	Ptah	} with their parallels.
Solar-telluric consciousness : - -	Ra	
The consciousness of Soul : - -	Osiris	

Now as the Egyptians lost at an early period, in a greater or less degree, the kosmogonical feeling, which degenerated into an all-absorbing solar-worship, so our general introductory observations have shown that the kosmogonical feeling itself implies the pure apperception of God, reflected in the human soul, as Cause by reason, and as Good by conscience. Osiris no longer then appears as the last, but as the first and oldest God, indeed he was the only real God in the Ritual. The reason why he is termed the youngest is because his worship contains traces of the earlier astral and solar influences. But while he soars above all the other deities and their symbols, he is the youngest, exactly as the spirit in man takes precedence of all nature as the antithesis to the external world, but conscious mind is the end of creation. It is not the kosmos which would unfold God to man, if he had not religious consciousness in himself. It is this consciousness of God in man which makes him understand the things around him as a whole, as a kosmos. The universe, the unity of

what has been evolved and is evolving, is not in the kosmic phenomena, but in the contemplative mind.

Now what have we found to be the relation existing between the religious ideas of the Babylonians and Phœnicians? There is a close affinity between them in their commencements, even as to names; and they both recognized in these beginnings, beyond the kosmogonical multiformity, the unity of reason; one God, the Lord of heaven and earth and of man, as the God of nature and of the soul, as the cause and origin of all, as the God who was originally worshipped. This God is called 'EL, the strong, with his Elim and Elohim; or Baal, Bel, as the ruler, with his Baalim: God with his kosmogonic powers.

It is clear that in the Babylonian kosmogony the Elohim, under Bel, create all the other existing things by means of primeval matter, which works more especially in the shape of primeval water and mud: and here the kosmic egg is unequivocally mentioned by name. But man was created by Bel sacrificing himself by cutting off his own head. All that the Elohim (powers of nature) do in this creation of man is to mingle, as spirits of nature, the blood flowing down from God with the dust: thus man is produced. Man is therefore the creation of God himself, his image and finite reflex; but he is also the child of the dust.

The innocent boldness of the description proves, no less forcibly than the authority of the reporter, the great antiquity of this tradition, and that it formed a part of the sacred belief of the people.

But the Phœnicians also speak of the kosmic egg, opened by the creating God, and of the creative spirit. Long before Asiatic tradition could have been adulterated by Hellenic speculation, we find as the first power, or as the outflow of primitive being, the *first-born*, Protogonos; associated with him the God of Time, understood spiritually as the Æon, i. e. as un-

divided unlimited duration. It is therefore God considered as the self-thinking, the rational, self-conscious will — the Logos. Reason, making Being objective to itself, or, to express it more simply, recognizing itself as finitely existent, is even in the materialistic Mokhos-kosmogony placed before every other conceivable thing.

Yet here again the element of diversity overgrows the unity; indeed the central point is that which in Egyptian is represented as Set, the avenging God, who requires the sacrifice of human life — the austere God, but at the same time the eternal, powerful, protecting God; then as the solar hero, Hercules, or the younger Bel (Lord), who strove with God. Lastly, “the Lord,” Adoni, Adonai (my Lord), is honoured and recognized as the supreme God.

Here again, then, to use the language of the Greeks, we have the reign of Kronos, the Saturnine age.

Now in the kosmogonical accounts of the Babylonians, taking all the elements together, we find this to be the order:

- I. Time (*Æon*) and the *first-born* (God as reason, together with God as existing, or with time in space).
- II. The World-creating Deity (*Demiurg*).
- III. Astral Deity and Solar Deity.
- IV. Man-creating Deity, Lord ; and Man.

There was, therefore, in Asia a primeval element, Time, and Mind, before or together with unorganized matter. Time is called in the Lists, and sometimes in the Ritual, the father of Osiris, who however in other passages of the Ritual has only a mother, NU, space, and is therefore called Self-created.

The other three members (II. III. IV.) are not only found both in Asia and Egypt precisely in this very form, but likewise in the same order.

B.

THE WORSHIP OF PTAH AND HIS SEVEN PYGMY SONS IS DERIVED FROM THE ESMUN-KABIRI WORSHIP, AND THE WORSHIP OF OSIRIS FROM THAT OF ADONIS.

I.

PTAH AND THE KABIRI.

APART from the fact of there being no Egyptian derivative for PTAH, although there is in Hebrew, from PTH, "to open," as the Opener (of the kosmic egg), (that is, as Pataikos, in the Greek form), which is literally the meaning of the Phœnician creator KHUSOR, the points of coincidence are too striking to be accidental.

1. Ptah is the Great God with the seven protecting strong Gods (Kabiri), who were worshipped in the inmost shrine of his temple at Memphis. So is Esmun among the Phœnicians "the Eighth," as being the chief of the seven Kabiri. But the Egyptians had also an Esmun; and Hermopolis, the city of Hermes, is to this day called in Coptic the city of Esmun. His earlier name in Egypt (and in early Asia consequently) was Sesen, Sôsis, which is derived from the older form of the numeral (SeS, SUS).
2. Esmun, Sesen, Sôsis, "the Eighth," certainly appears in the modern mythology as Thoth (Hermes), the assistant or manifester of the Seven; but his original position in Phœnicia, as well as Egypt, is kosmogonical. He is placed by the side of Osiris instead of Set. We can only consider him therefore to be a final embodiment, which, as first cause, was originally termed father (Ptah, with his seven children).

3. The Phœnicians in their sacred books stated that the Kabiri embarked in ships, and landed near Mount Kasion. This legend was corroborated by the existence of a shrine on that coast in historic times.

We have already remarked that this can only refer to Mons Kasius, to the east of Pelusium. The meaning of this statement, therefore, is equivalent to the tradition that the Kabiric worship, the kosmogonical religion, was imported into Egypt in very early times by the Phœnicians.

II.

ISIS AND OSIRIS ORIGINATE IN ASIA, BUT THEY ARE LONG ANTECEDENT TO THE ASTRAL PHASE.

IN the Egyptian myth itself Byblus (Gebal in Phœnician) is mentioned as the place where Isis brought up the young Osiris. There and at the Pelasgian mouth is the scene of part of the myth. It is, however, a well-known fact, and universally admitted, that the fundamental ideas of the worship and sacred ceremonies of Adonis and Osiris were identical. The youthful God, and the young husband, is slain and lamented; he rises again and is panegyricized, in which there is unmistakable reference to the solar year and its phenomena at the approach of the winter solstice and at the vernal equinox.

But there can be no doubt that in these ceremonies the reference to the solar year was merely symbolical, and that the kosmogonical sense was not a later mysticism, but, on the contrary, was that which gave birth to the solar symbolism. It flows from the innate consciousness of God being in the world, and the world being God's glorification in time.

Should these coincidences be considered as purely ideal, possible but not historical, the pervading analogy between the deities, theogonically and kosmogonically,

in a solar and a psychical sense, and even the identity of the very words, would stamp such an attempt to explain away their historical connexion as in the highest degree arbitrary, not to say absurd. But, moreover, we have some special historical landmarks to point out.

What is the derivation of the name of Osiris (Hes-iri)? According to the hieroglyphics the first part means Isis (Hes). Even were we inclined to explain it as the eye of Isis (and the eye [Utah] is a sacred character in Osiris), what is Isis-Hes? In Egyptian HS is equivalent to the meaning of the hieroglyphic, "throne." Can any deity really have had such a name? Throne, of what? There is no allusion in any myth to anything that can be brought into connexion with it.

The name of Isis, at all events, according to the Egyptian spelling, formed one of the two constituent parts of that of Osiris. Hence the Chief God, the leading idea in the whole mythology, was himself named after Isis, and implied consequently her previous existence, as she can only be the female complement of his personality. This is absurd and unparalleled.

Now who is he in Phœnician? All the Phœnician names of Adonis-Osiris can be fully explained, both as to meaning and etymology, in that language. Adoni is "the Lord," who is also called "the Supreme," "the King of the Gods;" but the name by which he is most extensively known was "ASAR, AZAR, ADAR," the strong, the powerful. There is obviously a close similarity between it and Osiris, which is said to be a compound one. It would seem indeed as though remains of the old Asiatic name had been preserved in the compound word SAR-APIS, of the Ptolemaic times, which the Egyptians understood as Osiris-Apis. The initial O in the transcription of HS-IRI may be a trace of the historical root.

Now, as regards Isis, HS, as we have stated, has certainly a meaning in Egyptian, for it is the name of the

hieroglyphical sign of the Goddess. It is the throne, the seat, and is used in the same sense in its amplified form (HRS). But what a name for the great Goddess of Nature: Seat! Even the mysticism of the priests seems to be at fault here to find an explanation — for what Plutarch, whose information was derived from Manetho, said about it in his work on Isis and Osiris has no foundation. But what if the corresponding Phœnician Goddess is also called HS? It has hitherto been assumed, as I think on insufficient grounds, that Astarte is a Persian word. There is a vast difference between 'HASTORETH and STAR in Persian, a word which is thoroughly Iranian in its character, and consequently belongs to a later epoch of language. Astarte, again, is not a star, nor is there a single authentic instance of the name of a Semitic God being derived from the Persian. The Persian and English word STAR is thoroughly Iranian in type, but is a simple word, and one, moreover, which does not correspond with the Phœnico-Hebrew name; the latter being a compound.

'HAS-TORETH is literally the throne of the cow. Astarte with her two horns was clearly enough this cow-symbol; but what is the meaning of 'HaS in that sense? And even if it can be shown that the meaning of HS is identical in the two languages, how came the Egyptians to adopt it without the latter part?

We can answer both these questions.

III.

ASTARTE, 'HES-TORETH, THRONE OF THE COW, MEANT ORIGINALLY NATURE, THE DIVINE KOSMOS; BUT AFTER THE YEAR 2500 OR 2000 B.C., IT SIGNIFIED THE POLAR STAR, WHICH WAS DEDICATED TO THAT PRIMEVAL GODDESS.

PHILO mentions a very extravagant myth, according to which Astarte, in her journey over the earth, found a

star which had fallen from heaven; she picked it up and placed it in the temple at Tyre. Now we learn that the Polar Star of the Phœnicians was the brilliant one of the first magnitude, beta of the Little Bear, whereas in Homer's time the Greeks made use of a star of the Great Bear, "from its never being dipped in the floods of ocean," as their guide in navigation. This same brilliant star β , which forms the extreme right in the square of the Little Bear, is still called by the Arabs "the star," and it is so marked on the old maps, as the Pole Star. Now we shall show in a subsequent page, that for 3000 years before the Christian era, and more especially from the year 2000 or 1000 B. C., this star was nearer to the pole than any other large star, for the stars κ and α in the Dragon, which between 4000 and 1000 B. C. were still nearer to the pole, were not so visible. The meaning therefore of the absurd myth (which of course had a very different shape in the sacred tradition) must have been this, that the Pole Star (which the Greeks called the Phœnician star, ἡ Φοινικική or Φοινική) was sacred to Astarte. Now this was the largest in the square of the Little Bear, which was called by the Greeks and Romans the Chariot, or the Four wheels of the Chariot. The Arabs, however, call it, as well as the corresponding square of the Great Bear, N'has, the bier. Niebuhr also found it sometimes called 'Has, clearly the same word as 'Has or 'Haïs in Job (ix. 9, xxxviii. 32), where the "sons of 'Has" are also mentioned, and it is the common Arabic name of the three principal stars in that sign.⁹⁸

Hence it is clear that the great Goddess of Nature

⁹⁸ Ideler, *Researches into the Origin and Meaning of the Names of the Stars* (1809), pp. 11—20.; conf. pp. xii. and 292. (When will some one, at once philologer and mathematician, like our distinguished astronomer Heiss, or our learned countryman Wöpke at Paris, make a collection of Ideler's works, and edit them with notes and appendices such as are required by the present state of science?) Conf. Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, under the word עֶשֶׂת.

could not have been called "Throne of the Cow" before the Phœnicians had entered upon the astral phase of religion. Nor could it assume the form in which we now find it, before the great star of the Little Bear was near enough to the pole to serve as a guide in navigation, that is, not before the middle of the 3rd millennium B. C. In other words, it must be a Phœnician, and not an early Aramaic name, for, as has been pointed out in the preceding volume, the Edomite colonies date from the 28th century B.C.

The Goddess of Nature may just as well have been called symbolically in primeval Asia HES, throne, as figuratively TORETH, cow: indeed, the former is the older of the two. God and world, spirit and nature, are the most ancient antitheses: the name Cow, like all similar designations, can only have been used when the religious consciousness was lost in its symbolic details. But "Throne of the Cow" is nonsense as the name of a deity.

HES has no meaning in Egyptian, and this is in harmony with all the relations between the linguistic and religious views of the two hemispheres. Egypt's roots are in Asia. But HAT-HOR, the Goddess of Nature, House of Horus, designates unquestionably the World.

HAS-TORETH became a title for the Pole Star, as being sacred to Baalti, consequently not earlier than the year 2000 B.C. The Goddess was, however, known in primeval Asia as HS, throne.

Nhas is *has* trilateralized, and is used synonymously with *has*, to signify the Chariot of the Great Bear. We might therefore venture to assume that HS signified originally the Chariot of the Little Bear, which is called in ordinary language *n'has*. 'Has, therefore, meant in Arabic "the bier:" but Hes (in its strong form HRS) signified in Egyptian "seat, throne." Must they not be the same words? In Hebrew 'Hastorêth (with the Phœnician equivalent of Shin and Sin) means

“the throne, seat, of the Cow,” i. e. of the Queen of Heaven, Baalti, the wife of Baal, the Lord. The word in later use KeS (Ex. xvii. 16.), commonly written KiSSe', for throne, seat, is formed from the same root HS. Hes, Kes, throne, is in the original conception a perfectly intelligible picture of nature or the world, as the throne of God. Now, according to my conjecture, the Asiatic Khamites, when they migrated, took their symbolical name with them. But although the spiritual sense was obscured or gradually lost, the word retained its meaning as evinced by the hieroglyphical sign. The connexion between the names of Osiris and HS as Isis is mere fancy or misunderstanding. HeS-IRI is a rebus. Osiris is not a compound word, but a Phœnician name misunderstood: ASAR, ADAR, the strong God.

The fact of the brightest star in the constellation of the Great Bear having been from the olden times, long before Homer, the Pole Star of the Phœnicians is doubly important, from its fixing this date for the earliest history of the postdiluvian races. This requires to be examined in greater detail.

C.

THE INFERENCES TO BE DRAWN FROM THE ASTRONOMICAL
SYNCHRONISMS RESPECTING THE HISTORY OF THE RELI-
GION OF ASIA, AND THE RELATION BETWEEN ITS ANTI-
QUITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF EGYPT.

THE annexed representation of the deviation of the North Pole since the year 5000, B.C., which Professor Heiss of Münster has been good enough to draw up for this work, shows at the first glance that prior to the



year 2000, or at the earliest 2500 B.C., no mariner could think of making beta in the Little Bear his guide in navigation.

In the year 2000 the Great Bear was as uncertain an index as it had been in the preceding ages. Even if they did not select α or κ Draconis as being stars of the third magnitude, still β Ursæ Minoris was as brilliant as α or δ Ursæ Majoris, and far more trustworthy. Shortly after the year 1000, however, Homer, in the lines already alluded to, mentioned the most brilliant of all the constellations in the northern hemisphere after Orion, when, describing the shield of Achilles, he says of the Little Bear (Il. xviii. 487.):

“And Ursa, too, by others called the Wain,
Which, wheeling round the Pole, still looks toward
Orion; only star of those denied
To slake his beams in ocean’s briny bath.”

Even in the seventh century (about 610 B.C.) Thales reproached the Greeks with not having adopted the Phœnician Pole Star.

This date of that star agrees perfectly with the first establishment of the Phœnician cities. There commerce and navigation originated, the earliest on record: the Polar Star was to them what Sirius was to the Egyptians.

The case was very different with Aramæa and with Babylon, where astronomy was studied, and which consequently was the focus of the oldest astral ideas.

There observations were taken from the course of the sun, and calculations made in relation to it and the path of the moon. It is certain, as Ideler has shown, that the Chaldees were acquainted with the twelve signs of the zodiac and the ecliptic at a very early period. But they were not known to the Greeks till a much more recent date, and wholly unknown to the Egyptians till the reign of Trajan. It is only from the mythological references to the ecliptic, therefore, that

we can discover what was the earliest historical point of contact between the astronomical synchronisms and the astral phase of religion. The Bull (TOR) we know to be the astronomical sign of spring; but the accompanying diagram shows that the sun entered into the sign of the Ram at the equinox shortly after the year 2000. The epoch, therefore, when the Bull was the vernal sign must have been between 3000 and 4000 B.C.

Now it is generally admitted that the notation of the vernal equinox by a Bull, which was the prevailing symbolism of Asia down to the time of the Greeks, had a mythological meaning, as being the symbol of the re-awakening generative power of nature.

Hence it follows, as regards our researches, that the astral symbolism of the Chaldees cannot go back beyond the year 3500. It can consequently have had no influence upon the first formation of the Egyptian religion, nor are we to look for the common element in the religious ideas of Egypt and Asia in astral symbolism, but in the previous phase out of which it grew; namely, in the spiritual and purely subjective view of the appearance of the celestial kosmos as an organic whole.

This is consequently a further confirmation of the position which the result of our previous researches has obliged us to assign to Egypt, both in respect to date and ideal development.

D.

THE ACCORDANCE IN THE NAMES OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DEITIES, AND THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF DERIVING THE ASIATIC FROM THE EGYPTIAN.

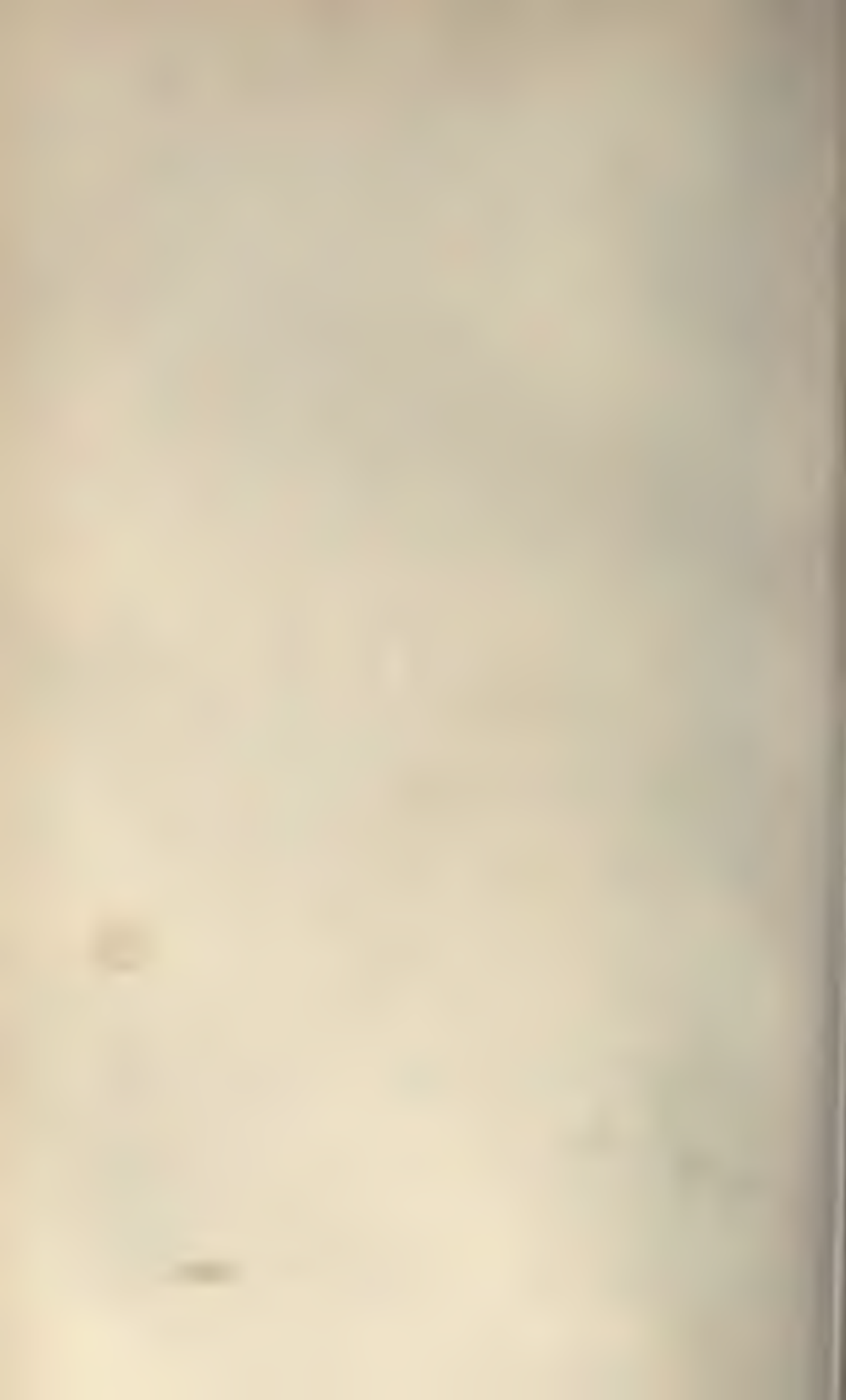
AFTER the evidence already adduced in proof of the agreement between the names of the Gods, a simple comparison of them, with a few brief illustrations, will suffice to establish the point.

* β



Inclination of the EQUATOR TO THE ECLIPTIC at different Periods.

- * Stars of the First Magnitude
- x " Second
- ▼ " Third
- Small Stars



I.

THE HARMONY OF THE NAMES.

In Phœnician, Syrian,
and Babylonian.

a. GODS.

In Egyptian.

SET, Chaldean (comp. Hebr.
Seth below) : Palestinian
form SUTKEH.

BA'HAI, BEL, BOL, Baal, Belus.

PIA'H, whence the Phœnician
Pataikoi, according to
Greek notions the name
of the Kabiri (Ptah, the
father of the Kabiri).'ESMUN, Ἀσκληπιός, Ἡρα-
κλῆς, the Eighth.TET, Θανάξ, Τάξις (ser-
pent), Hermes.'AMON, the kosmogonical God,
the creator of the world
(sculptor).? NEBO, Babylonian God of
War.

KON, KHON, Herakles.

'UR (light), old Phœnician
God of Light (i. e. Hebr.
Urim).'ASAR, ADAR, the strong, kos-
mogonical God.SET, SUTI, Σώτης: God of
the Sôthis (Sirius).

BAL (BAR), name for Set.

PTH, Φῶς, Hephaistos

ESMUN (sacred language
SSN = Σῶς). "the
Eighth" (Hermes).

TET, Θανάξ, Hermes.

AMN, Ἀμμὼν, Ἀμμων, the
kosmogonical God of
the Thebaid.ANEBU, one of the Genii
of Osiris, Ἄνουβις.

KHON-SU, Herakles.

HER, Horus (day; comp.
Ἡλιός).

HES-IEL, Ὁσίρις.

b. GODDESSES.

'HANOQAH, the giantess.

TENETH, ANAIT, TANAIT (Ἀν-
ταίς).'HAS[-TORETH], Astarte,
throne of the cow.

ANUKE.

NI, Νῆψ, Athena.

HS (throne), Ἥρας.

II.

THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF DERIVING THE CORRESPONDING PHŒNICIAN, SYRIAN, AND BABYLONIAN NAMES OF GODS AND GODDESSES FROM EGYPT.

AT the present stage of the inquiry, it would be an unscientific proceeding in the face of such facts, and in spite of them, to attempt to derive the names of Asiatic deities from the Egyptian. It has been proved that the language of Egypt, although it represents a previous stage of historical Semitism, has its roots in Asia, and is merely the deposit of an Asiatic language which died out in the home country during the process of the formation of language. Some religious ideas and practices in vogue in one of her colonies may, it is true, be adopted subsequently in the mother country, but words assuredly cannot flow back.

In addition to this, there is the proof resulting from the purport of the name and its relation to the idea.

The number seven, and its connexion with eight, in the series of Gods, is obviously the basis of the oldest religious system of the Egyptians, but they do not offer us any explanation of it.

From the Phœnicians we probably may learn something. There we have Ptah, the Opener, with his seven kosmogonical forces, as an essential member of the series: the names and ideas are complements of each other: all the words are palpably ideal. Ptah conveyed no real meaning to the Egyptians any more than Sôsis-Esmun. They clearly represent the Semitic week of seven days, the period of a phase of the moon, and the seven great constellations of the solar system (or rather, according to the views of the ancients, of the terrestrial system). In Egypt these are absorbed by the predominance of the solar worship and symbolism.

In like manner, as far as we are aware, the Egyptians knew nothing about Baal (BAR): we shall show in the

following section that SET also can be more satisfactorily explained from the Semitic, and at the earliest date, than from the Egyptian.

AMN, Ammon, was certainly in the eyes of an Egyptian rightly considered as the "Concealed" God, according to the Ritual and to Manetho, and this is his real meaning in Egyptian. This view of him would commend itself to him the more from the fact of the kosmogonical AMN having virtually disappeared from the general Egyptian Pantheon, and from his existing merely as Amun-Ra. But the meaning of the name in Semitic is far more simple, more significant and original: AMON, the sculptor, which is in Egyptian ATN.

The case may at first sight appear to be different with regard to the name of the God Thoth or Hermes. TT signifies in Egyptian to speak, consequently Speech, which is equivalent to Logos: and Thoth is this same Revealing God of the Spirit. We cannot show that it had this meaning in Phœnician: it means Serpent (šḫiṣ). But this is obviously only symbolically, the symbol of the serpent, as the searching spirit acting from within, pervades the whole of Asia, and survived even among the Ophites of the second Christian century. The Phœnician name, therefore, of Thoth-Taaautos is, as well as Esmun, symbolical, but its sense is perfectly obvious. In Egyptian also the word is written hieroglyphically TT, to speak, with the hand and serpent. So that what is the word in one case, is the hieroglyph in the other.

There is no Egyptian derivation of HR, Horus, so satisfactory as OR, UR, the usual way of expressing light in Hebrew and Phœnician.

There is again no etymology of ANUKE in that language; in the other 'HANOQAH means simply Giantess.

In regard to Isis and Osiris enough has already been said.

The notion of deriving the Greek Athena directly

from the Egyptian Neith rests on no sound basis. In the first place it is necessary to reverse the name, TN instead of NT. Such a transposition in the case of names is a forced and unscientific assumption, although as an exceptional case its application to roots may be legitimate when regulated according to fixed laws. But in this instance there is no question as to roots, for not only are the stages and formation of the Egyptian and Hellenic languages far too distinct to admit of it, but the name of the Goddess has obviously no palpable meaning in Greek: her influence arises from her Hellenic form, and from her own myth, which was refined by the Hellenic genius.

But the case is different when we come to ANAIT, who was worshipped throughout Asia. ANAIT, which is undoubtedly the correct form, becomes by reduplication TANAIT, T being probably the female prefix. The Greeks did in this instance what was their frequent practice, they prefixed the A to it, and made it into ATENAID, Ἀθηναῖδος the genitive of Ἀθηναίς, which they abbreviated into ATHENA, with a circumflex on the last syllable on account of the abbreviation.

We have seen that, according to the old genuine Phœnician tradition noticed in the remarkable passage in Philo, the Goddess Athena came from Phœnicia. The Asiatic Anaid, Anahed, Tanahet, Tenheth, has the same properties and position. The hieroglyphical determinative of Neith is the shuttle, or merely the weaver's spool, because it was also NT. But there is no evidence that Neith had ever anything to do with weaving. We must therefore endeavour to ascertain whether the symbol of the weaver is borrowed from that domestic occupation, or from the kosmogonical idea, which is so prevalent in the Phœnico-Kadmean mythology. All we know of the Asiatic Anaïtis-Teneth is invested with a high kosmogonical character. Besides this, in the myths of Kadmos the figure of the kosmic wool, the

garb of creation, is primeval and essential. But the Kadmic myths, and all the cognate Helleno-Grecian myths, are thoroughly and entirely Phœnician.

The especial point, however, on which the whole question as to the direct influence of Egypt turns is this, that the temperament of the Africans was not energetic and excitable. The Asiatic, Semitic as well as Iranian, always felt that he was his superior. The Egyptian again was neither a merchant nor a sailor : he detested the sea, and bartered his fine corn and the products of the interior of Africa against the manufactures and spices of Southern Arabia to the Phœnicians and Ionians, after he had ceased to sacrifice the foreigners who landed on his shores.

But the real nature of this mutual relation lies deeper. The idea is progressive and creative; the symbol is not. The Asiatic had once the idea, and created the symbol out of its fulness: the Egyptian never understood the idea except in and through the symbol, because he had received the idea as a fact, as a historical tradition, and this in his hands was petrified in rigid symbolism.

Thus mythological research arrives at the same result as the linguistic. Egyptian mythology did not originate in itself any more than Egyptian language: the root of the tree of Egyptian life is hidden in primitive Asia. But, on the other hand, while these primitive creations of Western Asia were in their native country only points of transition, overlaid by more developed successive formations, it is the land of Kham alone which has preserved that most ancient language and that primitive religious philosophy, symbolism, and worship. Thus Egyptian antiquity represents in the world's history that old stratum of civilisation in the western branch of the antediluvian period, while their ancestors appear on the scene of Universal History as the children of Shem, separated from their still more advanced and

progressive Japhetic brethren, the Arians. Egypt is thus really the Middle Age of our Universal History, and that must be its real signature.

Do the traditions of these two Asiatic races (Semites and Arians) about the beginnings of their race, confirm such a view of original unity, and what is their relation to the Egyptian traditions? If a satisfactory answer to these questions can be given our task is completed, Egypt's place is found, and the problem of universal history is solved in a far more satisfactory manner than has hitherto been done.

PART V.

THE HUMAN BEGINNINGS: THE TRADITIONS
OF THE SEMITES.



SECTION I.

THE TRADITION OF THE BABYLONIANS ABOUT THE BEGINNINGS OF THE HUMAN RACE AND THEIR OWN PEOPLE, ACCORDING TO BEROSUS.

WE have already stated our views about the credibility of the traditions of Berossus, the contemporary of Alexander, and expressed our full concurrence in the favourable opinion taken of him by Niebuhr in his treatise on the historical value of the Armenian version of the Chronicle of Eusebius. In fact the reasons for it are sufficiently obvious. The accounts there given of the succession of Babylonian dynasties are so complete a confirmation of, and complement to, the most trustworthy information we previously possessed about the empire on the Euphrates in the Bible and Herodotus, and they furnish us with so much new matter, evidently derived from the best sources at his disposal, that we may venture to consider the point as conclusively established to the satisfaction of every student of common sense. Such is my own conviction. For, although Schwenk, a man of learning, repeated in his "Mythology of the Persians," in 1850, what he had enunciated in his "Mythology of the Semites," in 1849, "that Berossus is the scum of literature," we can only consider this as one of those arbitrary dogmatical dicta of a writer to whom the historical critic is not called upon to pay any attention; any more than the philosopher is bound by the baseless system of Nihilism contained in his first assumption and his so-called philosophical explanations, or the Christian student by his still more incredible ignorance of Christianity.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ It will be sufficient for our purpose to cite a single instance of an illustration, unworthy of a German scholar as well as of a writer

The tradition contained in the extract of Eusebius from the first book of the Babylonian history of Berosus, the text of which will be found in the following volume, runs thus (Euseb. Chron. ii. 4. 6.; Syncellus, p. 28.):

I. THE CREATION OF MAN.

"IN the beginning all was darkness and water, and in these were generated monstrous creations, a mixed kind¹⁰⁰, that is, men with two or even four wings and two faces, double-headed mongrels having also animal forms, horns of goats or hind quarters of horses. There were also bulls with human faces, dogs with fishes' tails, horses with dogs' heads, and men with fishes' tails: and many other species of reptiles and snakes of extraordinary shapes. The likenesses of them are preserved in the temple of Belus. In front of all these stood a woman Omôrôka (in the Armenian version of Eusebius, Markaia), in Chaldee, Thalath (Molêdeth, mother of life)." We know these names from the theogonies which have been explained in a preceding page.

It then goes on to say, "how Belus (Zeus) split up this woman into two halves: out of one of them the earth was made, out of the other the heaven: and he destroyed all the creations in her (the woman).

"He then put the world in order and created animals that could bear the light. Those which could not bear the light perished.

"Last of all he cut off his own head, but the Gods mingled the blood which flowed with dust, and out of it formed men. On that account (Berosus adds to explain

who has any respect for his readers, in the chapter, "How and when the doctrine of the Resurrection was introduced into Christianity." (Myth. of the Persians, &c. p. 332. et seq.)

¹⁰⁰ I adopt the reading of Scaliger, καὶ διφυσεῖς, instead of the unmeaning καὶ εἰδιφυσεῖς: this is the only explanation which suits τὰς ιδέας, and it is clearly corroborated by what follows.

the dubious meaning), men were rational and participated in the divine reason.

“This same Belus created the stars also, the sun and moon and seven planets.”

If we treat this confused extract of Eusebius like other kosmogonical representations, it gives us a version of the history of creation in Genesis, which is unique in its simplicity, dressed up in the garb of natural philosophy and mythology. We do not mean that it was borrowed from Genesis, but that the old Chaldee tradition was the basis of them both, a spiritual symbolism in an historical shape. As yet all that we can prove about the Khamitic doctrine is the fundamental spiritual idea: the emanation of the world from the creative will and spirit of the Eternal God. This will be clearly seen from the following tabular synopsis of the above five sections of the Chaldee narrative (changing the order of the last in Eusebius) and of Genesis:

Darkness and Chaos	-	-	-	Gen. i. 2.
Separation of the Upper Firmament from the Earth	-	-	„	3-13.
Sun, Moon, and Stars	-	-	„	14-19.
Creation of Animals	-	-	„	20-25.
Creation of Man	-	-	„	26-31.

In one case, the formation of the natural world in a mythological shape; in the other, the prominence being given to the Divine, to God, whose action is antecedent to all nature and time.

II. THE TEN EPOCHS OF PRIMEVAL TIME, FROM ALORUS TO XISUTHRUS, THE PATRIARCH OF THE FLOOD.

THE Chaldees had a narrative, not only about the Flood and the Ark, but the epochs of the antediluvian foretime.

The first dynasty of the Babylonian annals was the reverse of their first man. Their Adam was an historical man above, a mythical one below: he terminates

in the figure of the growth of creatures out of primeval moisture. Their first dynasty, on the contrary, is mythical above, and terminates in the historical.

But they say that this first dynasty was preceded by a foretime which was divided into ten great epochs or reigns, from Alôrus to Xisuthrus. These have been frequently compared with the so-called ten generations of the patriarchs, from Adam to Noah. We shall see that in the oldest Hebrew traditions there are no such ten generations. No comparison indeed can be made between them in this shape.

In order to show this we collate the accounts given by Eusebius out of Polyhistor with those in Genesis.

Berosus (according to Eusebius, ii.) stated in his first book, that he, a contemporary of Alexander the son of Philip¹⁰¹, composed these histories from the registers, astronomical and chronological, which were preserved at Babylon, and which comprised a period of 200,000 years (150,000 according to Syncellus, p. 28.). He stated that Babylon lay between the Euphrates and Tigris; that corn grew wild there, and that on the Arabian side it is a desert; that, in the fertile parts of the province, vast numbers of people of various races collected together and led a disorderly sensual life. That in the *first year* Oannes, a merman, came out of the sea and instructed the people; that other similar Oannes appeared subsequently, of whom he would give an account in the lists of the kings. He recorded no exploits or remarkable occurrences during the first nine ages, only in the tenth.

We will begin with the Lists out of the second book (Eus. Arm. i. ; comp. Sync. i. 17. seq.):

¹⁰¹ This is Berosus' authentic account of his own date. The preceding unintelligible passage (ch. i.: "And he himself says that then Nabonassar was king"), can only mean that he refers to a work either written or collected in the reign of Nabonassar; probably in order to explain that he had obtained a great deal of information through this channel, after the destruction of the earlier historical records.

BEROSUS.

Ten kings: 120 sari = 432,000 lunar years.

I. Alôrus, Chaldean from Babylon.	} <i>Bab. Era</i> , 13 sari, 46,800 lunar years.
10 sari: lunar years 36,000	
II. Alaparus, his son.	} The two epochs appear as father and son.
3 sari - - - 10,800	
III. Almêlon (Amêlon), from Pantibibloi, a Chaldean.	}
13 sari - - - 46,800	
IV. Ammenon, also from Pantibibloi: in his time the merman teacher, Oannes (Annêdotos) came out of the Red Sea.	}
12 sari - - - 43,200	
V. Amelagarus (read Melagarus), from Pantibibloi: the <i>fourth</i> Annêdotos, <i>merman</i> (according to Syn-cellus; Eusebius has four monsters), came out of the sea.	} <i>Era of Pantibibloi</i> (city of writing, below, Sippara). ¹⁰² Five epochs: in the fourth (VI.) a shepherd reigns: in the second, third, and fifth (IV. V. VII.), men receive revelations.
18 sari - - - 64,800	
VI. Daonus, shepherd from Pantibibloi.	}
10 sari - - - 36,000	
VII. Edoranchus (read Euedôreschos), from Pantibibloi: <i>another merman</i> , Odakôn, comes out of the sea. All these later mermen taught in greater detail the doctrines imparted by Oannes.	}
18 sari - - - 64,800	

¹⁰² Sippara is clearly enough the Chaldee form of the Hebrew

VIII. Amempsinos, from Lan-			
charis (Sync. Laranchi,			
Rawlinson happily emends			
it by Sancharis), Chaldean.			<i>Era of Sankerah</i>
10 sari: lunar years 36,000			(a city in Susiana).
IX. Otiartes, from Sancharis			Three epochs in 18
(Syn. Laranchi).			sari. The last two
8 sari - - - 28,800			appear as father and
X. Xisuthrus, son of Otiartes			son. The length of
(in Sync., p. 30., son of			the first two is the
Adratus).			same as that of the
18 sari: - - - 64,000			last, 18 sari.
In his reign the GREAT			
FLOOD took place.			
Sum total: 120 sari = 432,000 lunar years.			

Now as the epoch of Xisuthrus is the age of the Flood, and as Berosus commenced his human history with it, the question is, what is the antithesis between it and the nine preceding epochs? At all events it must be borne in mind that the nine epochs are divided into three great traditions in different localities: the first and second, or the Chaldeo-Babylonian tradition or age; the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, or the Sipparic, to the north-east of Babylon; and the Sankharic, to the south-east of Babylon, in Susiana. To this latter Xisuthrus be-

sepher, writing. "A city of writing," Qiryath-Sepher, is also mentioned in the kingdom of Judah. This Babylonian Sippara, the Sipphara of Ptolemy, compared with πόλις Σιππαρηνῶν in Euseb. Præpar. Ev. ix. 41., is identical with the Sepharvayim of 2 Kings xvii. 24., xviii. 34., and Isaiah xxxvi. 19.), and is confidently placed by D'Anville to the north of Babylon, east of Bagdad, on the east bank of the Euphrates. Winer also maintains this stoutly against Vitringa and others. As regards the form, the plural is universally used in the Chaldee and Greek names, Βιβλολ and Sippara. What seems to be the dual form in Sepharvayim is merely the Chaldee plural (Sipparuya) with the Hebrew plural ending. (See Outlines, i. p. 211.)

longs; for he is described as the son of the second Sankharic dynasty or epoch.

It is clear, however, that none of these epochs or their subdivisions contain any historical dates; but that they are great astronomical cycles. These chronological references, accordingly, are ideal, as well as the epochs themselves, just as are those of the Egyptian reigns of Gods. The revelations, therefore, which are mentioned in some of the epochs must either have reference to the predominant deities, or else they are a jumble of fragments of the earliest local traditions in a mythological form. But confusions of this kind should not lead us astray as to their general character.

There is some great misunderstanding at the bottom both of one and the other of the assumptions in these accounts. The existence of Man is implied, but nothing is recorded about him.

Before we can restore their original form, as well as unravel their original meaning, we must obtain further information from the cuneiform inscriptions.

III. THE FLOOD OF XISUTHRUS AND THE MODERN BEGINNINGS IN BABYLONIA.—CRITICISM.

THE account given by Berosus of the history of Xisuthrus is as follows (Eus. iii.; Sync. p. 30.):

“Kronos (Set) revealed to Xisuthrus, in a dream, that on the *fifteenth day of the month Daisios* (the eighth of the Macedonian lunar year, Idel. i. 393.), the *flood* would commence, in which all mankind would perish. That he must bury all the books in the city of

“And God said unto Noah . . . I will destroy man with the earth.” (vi. 13. Gen.) “And behold I, even I, do bring a *flood* of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh.” (17.)

Helios, Sippara, and build a ship five stadia (3125 ft.) long, two stadia (1250 ft.) broad, for himself, his children, and nearest relatives; that he should provide them with food to eat and to drink; and that he should take with him all sorts of *animals*, fowls, and four-footed beasts. When Xisuthrus asked where he should sail to, he received for answer: 'To the Gods, with a prayer that it may fare well with mankind.'"

Xisuthrus did everything in accordance with this command.

"The flood came: as soon as it ceased, Xisuthrus sent out *birds*. They found neither food nor a resting-place, and came back to the ship.

"Make thee an ark of gopher wood. The length of it shall be 300 cubits (600 ft.), the breadth of it 50 cubits (100 ft.), and the height of it 30 cubits" (60 ft.). (14, 15.)

"And thou shalt go into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee. And of every *living thing* of all flesh, two of every sort, shalt thou bring into the ark, of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind." (18, 19.; conf. vii. 1—5.).

"Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he." (22.)

"And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood came." (vii. 6.). . . . "And the rain came . . . on the *seventeenth day of the second month* . . . forty days and forty nights . . . and after the end of 150 days, the waters were abated . . . on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, the ark rested upon the mountains of Ararat. . . . on the first day of the tenth month were the tops of the moun-

tains seen." (vii. 11, 12.; viii. 3, 4, 5.) . . . "At the end of forty days, Noah sent out *a raven*" (7.); "after that *a dove*" (8.): "but when the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, she returned unto him into the ark." (9.)

"A few days after, he sent out *other birds*, which also returned, with mud on their feet.

"A few days after, he again sent out *birds*, for the third time, *who did not return*. Then Xisuthrus knew that there was land again.

"Now he took out some of the planks, and saw that the ship was landed on a *mountain*." (Conf. below: *in Armenia*.)

"He went out with his *wife* and a daughter, and the builder, and threw himself upon the ground, and *prayed*, and *built an altar*, and *offered sacrifice* upon it.

"After the sacrifice, those who had come out disappeared.

"After seven days, he *again* sent out *the dove* out of the ark: and she came in to him in the evening; and she had in her mouth a fresh olive-leaf." (10, 11.)

"And he stayed yet other seven days, and sent forth *the dove*; *which returned not again* unto him any more." (12.)

"Then Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the earth was dry." (13. conf. v. 4.: the ark rested upon the *mountains of Ararat*.)

"And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him." (18.). . . "And Noah *builded an altar unto the Lord* . . . and *offered burnt offerings* on the altar."

“Those who had remained behind looked for them, and called to them in vain by their names; but a voice answered them out of the air: ‘*Fear God: he has been taken up to the Gods because he feared God: his wife, and his daughter, and the builder, have shared the same honour. Go back to Babylon, and communicate to mankind the books which are concealed at Sippara: the place where they were was in Armenia.*’

“Upon this they *offered sacrifice*, and went their way to *Babylon*.

“On the Gordiæan mountains, pieces of the *ship* which stranded in *Armenia* are still to be seen. The asphalt which is brought from thence averts mischief.

“They, upon this, did as they were commanded, built a temple, and *restored Babylon.*”

The covenant of God with Noah and the whole race of man. (ix. 1—17.)

Here ends the authentic account of the Babylonian beginnings. The statements of Eusebius (Chron. Arm. iv.; conf. Euseb. Præf. Ev. ix. 5.) and of Syncellus (p. 44.) from Polyhistor are clearly borrowed from Persian records, through the medium of a Sibylline book. It

begins: "The Sibyl says." This only means that the source of it is a patchwork of some Alexandrian or other Hellenistic Jew.¹⁰³

The fragment proceeds, after the above, as follows:

Of the building of the Tower.

"When men still spoke but one language, they built a very high tower, in order to go up to heaven. The Almighty (in Syncellus, the Gods) however sent a strong wind, and threw down the tower. After that, men spoke different tongues; from which circumstance the place was called Babylon." (Babel = confusion.)

It is quite clear that had the old tradition contained anything of the kind, Berosus would not have failed to mention it in his historical work; and it is equally clear that Polyhistor and Eusebius would not have allowed such a treasure to be lost.

According to Hippolytus (Hæres. v. 7. p. 97.), the Chaldeans called the man who was born of the earth, but who afterwards became a living soul, Adam. Nothing can be more natural; but if it be asked whether this was the name of the first man in their traditions, we must venture to doubt it. Would Berosus not have stated so? Eusebius undoubtedly would not have passed over without notice so marked a resemblance to the Bi-

¹⁰³ I would here express a wish that that acute, ingenious, and learned scholar, Jacob Bernays, would analyze the whole of this Sibylline tradition, as he has lately pointed out the Jewish element in Phokylides. To a man of such vast energy it would not interfere with the great work he has in hand, a History of Philology, a beautiful specimen of which is given in his monograph on Scaliger. It is most gratifying to me to learn from my friends in London and Paris, that a work written by one to whom, on account of his being a Jew, a Professorship is refused in Germany, has been very favourably received in England (at Oxford he was honoured with the proposal of editing Lucretius, to be printed by the Clarendon press) as well as in France.

ble narrative. The whole story in Hippolytus is connected with the Gnostic God Adamas, which, although interpreted as a Greek word, may be suspected of being derived from a Jewish or post-Christian source.

But the whole Chaldee account of the Flood terminates in local Babylonian reminiscences. We see that the efforts of the sacerdotal authors to have it supposed that their sacred books were written before the Flood were precisely the same as those of the genealogist of the house of Montmorency to make the world believe that the ancestor of that family deposited his pedigree in Noah's hands when he went into the ark.

But the general contrast between the Biblical and Chaldee version is very great. What a purely special local character, legendary and fabulous, without ideas, does it display in every point which it does not hold in common with the Hebrew!

We now proceed to make an historical analysis of this most sacred of all traditions about the beginnings of the human race, that of Genesis.

We must in the mean time bear the following steadily in view:

1. The antediluvian epochs of the Babylonian traditions are essentially different from the Biblical. These latter, from Kain-Kenan downwards, are of an historical nature, real fragments of the oldest traditions of our race, landmarks in a vast sea, which, like the Irish lake, conceals lost cities beneath its waters.

2. The Babylonian traditions of the nine, or three, antediluvian epochs are of the same kind as the dynasties of Egyptian Gods. In both cases the historical portions may be reminiscences of vast natural convulsions and of the destructive effects of fire and water, from which mankind with great difficulty, and after great loss, contrived to extricate itself.

3. But neither the Babylonian nor the Egyptian traditions, in the shape in which they have come down to

us, rest upon primeval data, the common property of the old races. The one set have been fabricated according to the type of Chaldee life, in the race of Aram; the other in the valley of the Nile. The groundwork of them both may originally have been Asiatic, but the Egyptians know nothing of a Flood.

SECTION II.

THE HISTORICAL RELATION BETWEEN THE EGYPTIAN
NOTIONS AS TO THE BEGINNINGS AND THOSE OF THE
HEBREWS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE POINT OF VIEW OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ABOUT THE
BOOK OF GENESIS.

WE now come to the most solemn, and in many respects the most remunerating, though at the same time the most difficult portion of our historical comparison. What is the relation between the traditions in Genesis about the origin of Man and the facts presented to us by the language and mythology of Egypt and primitive Asia? To evade answering the question will be the more impossible from an historical point of view, inasmuch as we may perhaps have obtained from our previous inquiries new elements for the solution of these very Biblical difficulties. They have taught us this at all events, that the intellectual element which originated at the close of the old world with Abraham, the spiritual founder of the new world, was derived from an early Semitic source. The result of our researches also is, that Moses developed his intellectual worship out of Semitic nature and history, and did not, as has been believed, borrow the ideas or symbols of Kham. It has taught us on the other hand, that the nature-worship and astral symbolism of Egypt and primitive Asia were by no means the earliest mythological views entertained by the pre-Abrahamitic world. That mythology was the rank product of the

mind when it became absorbed in the symbolism of original ideas, rites, and myths about intellectual things, that is, such as do not belong to time and space. This intellectual basis was obviously not a later substraction, but the historical root out of which symbolism grew according to the eternal laws of development. They are the same laws by the operation of which primitive Christianity was converted into Latin medievalism, by a pathological process. Even here our assertion is verified, that Egyptian civilisation represents the Middle Age of the old world.

Modern history begins with Menes and Abraham, but the natural root from which he and his race sprang is older even than the origines of Egypt. Kham is the medieval deposit of a later state of consciousness than that which Abraham reduced to its simplest form.

The belief held by all Christian people, that the Bible gives us a faithful account of the first beginnings of the world and of mankind, is in reality truer than the theories hitherto adopted about the Bible narratives would justify the critic in assuming. The consequence of the Jewish and medieval notions is such as in an age of philosophy and research it must have been: unbelief, opposed to superstition. A mere belief upon authority, which is not based on reason and consequently cannot exercise much influence on the intellect, and an acquiescence in misinterpreted tradition, generate first childish superstition, which destroys the childlike truth of belief, and then a negative killing unbelief, whether candidly avowed, or concealed beneath the mask of hypocrisy.

The task which European science has now to perform, is to bring that tradition within the pale of history, i.e. to deal with it conscientiously and honestly, and to analyse it for the purpose of discovering what is the truth which is to be gleaned from it. The assistance to be derived from Egypt in this work of restoration is not less than

that received from Babylon. The hieroglyphics tell us more than the cuneiform characters, not to say than the Vedas, which contain but few and slight recollections of the origins of mankind.

Of course we must here take our stand on the Egyptian monuments and records, including the language, and cannot make Biblical research the starting-point. It should be still more self-evident that the whole inquiry stands upon the ground of philosophical history. And yet, with the growing and preposterous claims advanced by the clergy to fabricate even historic truth, and with their strenuous exertions to destroy historical science wherever it is possible, in order to bring us back to the Dark Ages, it has now again become the more imperative to state this in plain terms. It is almost more necessary indeed to lay great stress upon it in Protestant than in Catholic countries. For dogmatising Bibliolatry, the superstitious use which Protestants make of their Bible as a cloak for indolence and want of reflection, must produce the effect which scholasticism and hierarchical tyranny have produced in the South of Europe, a total abandonment of all scientific study of the sacred records. Ignorance marches step by step with perversity, and scepticism with superstition.

Historical research can of course accept nothing as historical which proves to be unhistorical.

It must, therefore, in the first place, hold everything to be unhistorical which is a symbolical representation of the Eternal. This belongs to the ideal sphere, not to the historical.

It must also hold everything to be unhistorical which, though not of an ideal nature, is still at variance with the general conditions of existence in time and space.

The historical inquirer, starting upon these two axioms, frequently finds himself obliged to oppose, in the first instance, the Jewish scholastic belief. He has found reasons enough for rejecting the historical view of a tradition:

but though he did not want the inclination, he had not the means of finding an affirmative solution, explaining the origin of the tradition.

It is the especial merit of historical investigators in Germany, that they have exerted themselves to the utmost to effect this, and their labours have been crowned with no ordinary success. The dreams of Dupuis, as well as the scoffs of Voltaire, have vanished wherever German science has penetrated.

Restoration, both in a philosophical and an historical sense, is the problem of the present day. Egyptian research, even that of the origines, supplies various opportunities of doing this. As regards the state of research about the Book of Genesis in particular, the treatise of Astruc in 1753 ought to have made it clear to those who venture to apply the general rules of criticism to the Bible, that the record of the human race which it contains is of a far earlier date than the writer who compiled it in its present shape. Critics, indeed, are generally agreed that the distinction between the two records, first drawn by that physician in consequence of the different words employed to express the name of God (the Elohistic and Jehovistic), is correct. In some portions God is invariably described by the term Elohim, which means literally Gods, although at the same time the verb is as a general rule in the singular number. In this instance, therefore, as in others, the plural sense may be considered as an abstraction, and be rendered as the "Godhead." In others, again, God is merely designated as "Jahveh." This is usually pronounced Jehovah, but improperly so, because it was the conventional sign that the sacred name ought not to be pronounced, but read Adonai, the Lord, the vowels of which word were, for this purpose, placed under IHVH. In ch. ii. iii. alone Jahveh Elohim (the "Eternal God") is used.

The way in which the critical idea was at first carried out was rude and faulty. It was only when the higher

rules of criticism, as applied by Niebuhr in his Roman history, were carefully followed, that strictly logical conclusions were arrived at. Tuch's "Commentary on Genesis" (1838) contains a conscientious and profound criticism of all the points connected with this distinction. His great merit consists in having established that the Elohim-record forms a connected whole, while the Jehovistic writer is merely to be considered as offering a supplement to the earlier original record which he found in existence. He considers the date of the original record to be about the end of the time of the Judges, and the Jehovistic writer to have lived in the reign of David. Ewald, in his "History of the People of Israel," has taken up the whole subject, and treated it as if it were altogether a new one¹⁰⁴, with a profundity and completeness which he evinces in everything he undertakes. We must insist upon the distinction between the fact of there being *two* documents in the primitive history of mankind down to Abraham, and the conjectures about several documents which the compiler of Mosaic history may have had before him. The system Ewald adopted in regard to the Pentateuch is this. He supposes it to be composed of four great written works, and by four different minds, omitting a few later additions. The oldest portion he believes to be the "Book of the Covenant," composed in the time of the Judges, from written sources of information, then ancient, some of them derived from Moses himself. Of the other three, he thinks the "Book of the Origines" the oldest. From it again he distinguishes a later authority, the third narrator of the primeval histories, to whom he attributes the fourteenth chapter with the account of the Mesopotamian and Babylonian war, in which Abraham was concerned, derived from a pre-Mosaic source, the section about the history

¹⁰⁴ He only mentions the original hypothesis in a note to vol. i. p. 128. Conf. p. 138. seq.

of Joseph (Gen. xxix.—xxxi.), and some smaller pieces. As regards the Book of Genesis, these two accounts of the second and third compilers coincide in the main with Tuch's original record; as does the fourth and (in regard to Genesis) the last in the series with the Jehovistic record. Ewald, however, does not consider the latter to be a supplement, but a narrative complete in itself.

In respect to the date of its origin, Ewald places the "Book of the Origines" (the fundamental writing A.), at the beginning of Solomon's reign. He explains many peculiarities in it by reference to this date, among others the remark (Gen. xxxvi. 31.), "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." In the third account (the fundamental writing B.) he recognizes the date of Elijah. The Jehovistic account he assigns to the first half, or, as he says in his new edition, to the beginning of the eighth century.

He considers the second and fourth narrators as antithetical to each other. The former he supposes to have been a man of great legislative mind, a Levite: the latter a prophetic, and at the same time a learned compiler, who extracted from the mass of existing records about earlier times the best materials, with great judgment and poetical genius. As a matter of course, he thinks they were both private documents in the first instance, emanating from men of learning and piety.

Knobel, in his "Commentary upon Genesis" (1852), adopted Tuch's views generally as to the fundamental writing and the supplement. Hupfeld, in 1853, offered a different opinion, but merely as to some of the remains of the fundamental writing in the Jehovistic record. In opposition to Tuch, he reverts to the hypothesis of there having been two equally original fundamental writings, in which we cannot agree. Of course both the narrators had old records and traditions at their disposal, and it appears

to us that the business of the critic is to place these in a clearer light, following in the footsteps of Ewald.

Delitzsch, the most modern expositor of Genesis, to his great honour, but to the great dismay of the school of theology to which he belongs, acquiesces in the scientific view, that the Book of Genesis was made up out of earlier and independent records, and in the views propounded by Tuch about the Elohist fundamental writings having been completed by means of the Jehovistic records.

My own views are developed in the first volume of the "Bible Records." The method adopted may be represented by the following sketch.

The question is, What is the nature and kind of the fundamental elements in Genesis and the Pentateuch generally?

The venerable book itself furnishes us the following reply:

Firstly: we have, and that from the very earliest times, Genealogical Registers, or as they are called in Hebrew, Pedigrees.

Secondly: Brief Memoranda, sometimes appended to these registers, sometimes detached.

Thirdly: Songs, in the shape of hymns, in commemoration of great events.

Fourthly: Detailed Narratives.

Upon examining these materials separately, we find that they frequently refer to each other, genealogies to genealogies, hymns to hymns. It admits of no doubt, at all events, that they are independent of the connected narrative. Those registers, entries, and hymns formed no portion of the original narrative, but came from an independent original source. This is the reason why they were introduced in different passages wherever they were suitable, for they have frequently no connexion with the immediate context.

They existed therefore previously to the historical narrative, that is, they belong to the pre-Davidic times. A clearer insight into them can only be obtained by internal criticism.

The narrative may be divided into two main portions. It is made up in part of external events, in part of a history of the internal life of men of the spirit. This is the real and the ideal element in all ancient history. Out of a combination of the two the epic narrative is formed. It implies that the external history in the traditions was combined gradually with the ideal element, according to the internal creative powers and views of later generations. The rigidity of the actual external history must be broken by tradition and poetry, in order that the idea may more freely pervade all the details: that is, the idea of the past destinies of mankind, as reflected in the noblest organs of the contemplative mind of the people.

It is this blending which we find in the narrative portions of Genesis in a vast variety of degrees, both in the fundamental writing and in the supplement. Yet it is evident that the ideal element predominates in the supplementary account, and that there is progressive research. The supplemental writer announces the most profound truths as the tradition of the fathers, and communicates, at the same time, many of the oldest records.

Both of them consequently contain the above three distinct elements: and why should there not be distinct earlier narratives likewise interwoven into the epic account itself? The fundamental writing, indeed, may be based upon an earlier epico-historical account. It must, however, be borne in mind that what we now possess is in the main the fundamental writing, which the second writer undertook to complete.

The more resting-places we discover on this road, the more credibility we impart to the sacred volume. For

if the false or childish, not to say Godless, notion of there having been a mechanical communication of the sacred books to a single man of God (that is, in the present instance, to Moses), for the purpose of transmission, be abandoned, our faith will rest upon the assumption that each compiler has told us something, not an invention of his own, but what he had learned or knew of his own knowledge; that he was a faithful vehicle of the traditions which came down to him; and that each of his successors has preserved this national and humanizing treasure with veneration and fidelity. In this way that which seems to have no meaning becomes reasonable, and an object of moral belief and serious contemplation to educated minds.

We come to this conclusion by sound science and research, as much as by methodical thought. By sounding the laws of mind we become conscious of eternal ideas in a symbolical language. What we know not to be true by the logical process we find through historical investigation to have been believed and acted upon instinctively, and expressed ritually and artistically. But, lastly, the discoveries in our own peculiar domain, those especially of Egyptian as well as Assyro-Babylonian antiquity, and preeminently those of historical etymology, have forced upon us the conclusion, that there is a far more remote background of early history than critics ventured to assume at the beginning of this century.

The art of writing books was invented ages before the time of Moses, and from him future writers will have to date the commencement of modern history in the stricter sense. The first invention of monumental writing does not even belong to the Asia of the second millennium before Christ with which we are acquainted, but either to a primeval Asia which has historically perished and the deposit of which was preserved in Egypt, or to Egypt itself.

A.

THE BIBLICAL TRADITIONS OF THE PATRIARCHS; OR THE
ANTEDILUVIAN AGE.

THERE is notoriously, in the book of Genesis, or, as we may call it preeminently, the book of the Beginnings, a double list of Patriarchs. The one in the fourth chapter obviously belongs to the Jehovistic record, that in the fifth is an Elohist narrative.

We place these two registers in juxtaposition, on the following page, in the shape in which they have come down to us.

Buttmann observed that as both lists have at the end Lamekh, so the preceding links, from Kain-Kenan downwards, correspond with each other exactly, excepting that in the first three, after Kain and Kenan, the order of the names is different. He also observed that the same names, Adam, Seth, and Enosh, correspond in the first three links of the Elohist record. He contented himself with noticing these particulars. But with the facts now before us we cannot forget that we have found SETH as the oldest Semitic and Egyptian God; and this also brings to our recollection that the son of Seth is none other than "the Man." ENOS, indeed, is the ordinary Aramaic word for Man, as the Hebrew one is 'ADAM. In one case the designation would seem to be derived from the possession of manly strength, in the other from the reddish complexion of the men of Kanaan or Phœnicia. How then can Seth be the son of Adam and Enosh his grandson?

This brings us to the assumption, which will be made intelligible in the next table. The two existing versions lead to two independent series, which have precisely the same starting-points, and in which, leaving

THE GENEALOGICAL REGISTER OF THE PRIMEVAL WORLD, FROM ADAM TO NOAH.

Gen. v., *Elohim Record*.'ADAM,
created by Elohim.

SETH

'ENOS

QEZYNAN

MAHAL'ÆL

YERED

'HANOKH

METUSELA'H

LEMEKH

NOAH

{ SEM, 'HAM, YAPHETH.

Gen. iv., *Jehovistic Record*.'ADAM,
created by Jahveh Elohim.

{ QAYIN, HABEL, SETH

'ENOS

'HANOKH

'HIRAD

MEHUYAEL

METUSAEL

'HADAH—LEMEKH—ZILLAH

{ YABAL, YUBAL,

Father of Shepherds
who lived in tents.

{ TUBALQAYIN, NA'HAMAH,

Father of Workers of
Copper.

out of the question the change in the order of the intermediate names, the only difference is that the division of mankind before the Flood is represented as taking place, at the end of the one, in the persons of the three descendants of Lamekh, whereas in the other the separation takes place through the three descendants of Noah. The latter account does not vitiate the former, for they take two wholly distinct views: division according to mode of life, and division of race. As to the discrepancy in the name of the Creator, the one common eternal truth which pervades them both is, that God created man in His own image. In the earliest tradition the Creator was called Jahveh-Elohim, and man himself Adam—in the other He is called SETH and man ENOSH. The first refers to the primeval country, Upper Mesopotamia (Aram); the latter to Palestine, Kanaan, the land of Seth, Sutekh. Noah is omitted in the first record, but that is no reason for saying it excludes him. One only treats of the early world before the great catastrophe, the other includes this. It is impossible that any Hebrew narrative should omit the name of Noah himself. This name (if not that of 'Hanokh) is found at Iconium, in Asia Minor, where ANNAKOS announces the impending Flood, and no notice is taken of the warning. The following is the explanation we offer of the names of the Patriarchs, the descendants of Noah, according to the system adopted in this work.

'HAM is the inhabitant of Egypt, the Dark, the Black.

SEM, the oldest patriarch of Israel, the glorious, the renowned: from him comes 'ADAM-'EDOM, the Red Man (whence the name Phœnician).

YAPHETH, the bright, the fair, is the White Man of Northern Asia.

We have then the dark-, the red- (and he is the

Glorious), and the fair-complexioned. The hypothesis of all the three races being named after their different shades of complexion has in its favour etymology and physiology, as well as the Egyptian monuments. It is natural that the Semites should distinguish their own patriarch as the Illustrious.

But as regards the names of the primeval world, we must first distinguish those which are purely ideal. These are Jahveh Elohim—that is originally IAHVEH (Iah) and EL in the oldest Semitic—and, corresponding to them, SET, the root of which retained its full vitality in Egypt: upon which points we refer our readers to the comparative dictionary of roots in the next volume. 'ENOS and 'ADAM, the names of the first men, must necessarily also be considered as ideal. 'HAVVAH, the Life-giving, mother of all living, as betokening woman, and HEBEL, the Vanishing, belong to the same category. These names are purely Hebrew, and they occur in the same sense in all the intellectual Semitic representations of the primitive world.

As to the remaining names, the spelling of the Jehovistic record offers so palpable and easy a solution, that we must consider it throughout as the true original one, and not that of the Elohist account.

1. QAYIN, an older formation than QEYNAN, which has a reduplication at the end, must be explained like the compound name of the son of Lamekh, TUBAL QAYIN. We have already given our reasons for supposing that QAYIN corresponds to the Technites or Artist in Phœnician mythology. The land to which he emigrated (Nod, flight, as he himself is called *Nad*, the fugitive,) lies to the east of the original residence. He is the type of the non-Semitic tribes, the patriarch of the dwellers in cities, who bear arms and till the ground.

2. 'HANOKH is usually explained as the Initiating or the Initiated: the former perhaps comes nearest to it, but the passive form, taught of God (in the sense of man of

God, prophet), may also lead to the same explanation. In the supplementary writing, the Jehovistic record, he is the son of Kain, in the other he is his great-grandson, and the great-grandfather of Noah. We might be tempted by the genealogical resemblance to suppose that the Phrygian tradition, preserved by Hermogenes, about Annakos, Nannakos¹⁰⁵, who announced the Flood three hundred years before its occurrence, referred to 'Hanokh, but our interpretation of him as Noah seems more certain. The fact of his being stated to have lived three hundred and sixty-five years in the Jehovistic record, which is the number of the days in the simple or vague solar year, affords a remarkable clue to the position and interpretation of 'Hanokh.

3. 'HIRAD, the next link in the Jehovistic record, cannot be satisfactorily traced according to the formative laws of historical Hebraism. But inasmuch as the principal stem *'hir* means city (a primeval word), the final *ad* must probably be understood as a formative syllable, so that 'HIRAD would mean citizen, townsman; the descendant of the first builder of cities, QAYIN, who built *'hir*, the city, and named it after his son. The form YERED, in the other record, would seem to be merely an attempt to bring into closer analogy with the later language a formation which had ceased to be understood, at the expense of the sense.

4. Me'HUYAEL, Me'HIYYAEL (a name which occurs but twice, and in fact the first time in the former, the second in the latter shape), signifies one struck by God, the God-struck.

5. METHUSAEL, according to the earliest mode of expressing the conjunction of two nouns (status constructus), and which is constantly used in the Chaldee of the cuneiform character, signifies the man of God:

¹⁰⁵ Suidas voce *Ναννακός*. Steph. Byz. v. *Ἰκόνιον*. Buttmann, *Lexilogus*, pp. 176—178.

meth, with the nominal ending *meth-u*, means the man (the mortal): *s* is the connecting link in that relation (derived from the well-known meaning as a relative = 'aser).

6. LEMEKH, LAMEKH, is explained by many commentators as meaning "strong youth:" Ewald interprets it as "robber," "violator."

7. In the race of Lamekh we find a double line by the two wives:

'HADAH (beauty) and ZILLAH (shade, darkness), two names already known to us among the Phœnicians in Philo's translation, one as Diône, the other, without a name, who died young. Their names are mythological: the son of 'HADAH, YUBAL, is in Phœnician Esmun, the God Hercules, the beautiful manifestation of his father.

From the dark-complexioned one, Zillah, however, the worker in copper, TUBAL-QAYIN, is descended, as to the probable derivation of which sufficient has been already said in sifting the Phœnician traditions. His sister, NA'HAMAH (Grace, the Graceful), who here stands isolated, belongs to the race of the Esmunidæ, according to Philo's translation of the phœnician names.

Now if we proceed from here upwards, and examine the different allusions, some of which are of very easy interpretation, we shall discover among the patriarchs of the two distinct races of man, one the nomad shepherd, the other the agriculturist, the dweller in towns. 'Hanokh is the man of God, who stands between the marauder Qayin and the agricultural builder of cities 'Hirad. There are two conclusions to be drawn from this; the first is, that in order to understand the list we must divide it into two parts, each of which begins with purely ideal names; the second, that the dates assigned in the Elohist record to individual names, from Adam downwards, and then from Seth and so on, are not to be taken in a

literal sense as signifying the ages of individual men. Such an assumption is at variance with all the laws of human and animal organism, and as contrary to common sense as the notion of there being any chronology in the astronomical cycles of hundreds of thousands of years. But it is equally certain that the above dates are not mere arbitrary inventions.

Bertheau in the first instance, and after him Lepsius, have offered some ingenious suggestions for explaining them. There are, however, two reasons why we must refrain from entering into their calculations. In the first place, these systems are based upon a plan of adding together two series which were originally distinct, and which run parallel to each other, and consequently upon a misunderstanding of later times. Now it is impossible to explain an original fact by means of the result of a misunderstanding. The second objection is, that in Bertheau's system, as well as that of Lepsius, indeed in all similar systems, many arbitrary assumptions, and very serious alterations of the dates, must be made. There are two reasons why the critic will give the preference to the Hebrew text. In the first place, in most instances where there is any discrepancy, either the Samaritan text agrees with it in opposition to the Alexandrian (and it was, at all events, derived from this at no early date), or else the Alexandrian agrees with it in opposition to the Samaritan. In the second place, these two texts, when they disagree, are obviously based on the same system. According to the Samaritan version, all the older patriarchs, except 'Hanokh, die in the year of the Flood. But the object of the Alexandrian version is to throw back, wherever possible, the year of the world, because the authentic dates of the Egyptian monuments could not be unknown to the Alexandrian Jews.

The solution of which this is an outline accepts the

dates of the most authentic, the Hebrew, text as they stand, without requiring any alteration, and it is based upon what is demonstrably the original and most simple form of the tradition in six sections. Upon these grounds, therefore, I may hope that it will meet with a fair examination.

The following theses, however, do not depend upon this attempt at a solution. I offer them as the result of the previous researches.

- I. The orders of Gods among the Egyptians, Semites, and Greeks are identical, not only as to the leading fundamental idea, but likewise in many of the details, both as regards the idea and even the names.
- II. They belong altogether to the ideal conceptions respecting the origin of the world and divine worship.
- III. The Biblical account is the only one in which the ideal element has been preserved in its integrity, and in the historical element the character of humanity without mythological monsters.
- IV. The ideal element starts from that consciousness of God as One, which Abraham restored in his own household: primitive Aramaic recollections form its historical element.
- V. The historical element has reference not to men, but to epochs and critical changes, the memory of which had been handed down to the new world of the Caucasian races.
- VI. The rabbinical view is as untenable critically as it is absurd philosophically. The Biblical tradition consequently must be understood according to the spirit, on the basis of the letter rightly understood: a method which has been triumphantly discussed and settled by research and science during a century.

We therefore offer to our readers, without further comment, the following restoration.

A. Creation.

GOD,
'EL, 'ELOHIM,
YAH, YAHVEH,
YAHVEH 'ELOHIM,

GOD,
SETH (SUTI, SUTEKH),

created the Man

'ADAM,
the Red.

'ENOS,
(the Strong, the Man).

B. Human Development.

I. QAYIN
(the Smith),
Murderer of his brother HEBEL
(the Mortal) the Shepherd;
Founder of Cities.

II. 'HANOKH
(the Initiated, Initiating,
Seer of God, Solar year).

III. 'HIRAD
(the Dweller in Towns).

IV. MeHUYAEL
(the God-struck).

V. METHUSAEL
(the Man of God).

VI. LAMEKH
(the Powerful, Strong).

I. QEYNAN.

IV. 'HANOKH.

III. YERED.

II. MAHALAL'EL.

V. METHUSELA'H.

VI. LAMEKH.

Here, instead of an unmeaning genealogy of impossible men, we have a representation deserving of the highest respect and befitting the dignity of the sacred writings, of the earliest reminiscences of the migrating Semites, as it was understood in Mesopotamia, and recorded in the long interval between Joseph and Moses. The misunderstanding arose at a later period. But even here the tradition is of such a character that we can obtain a clue to the truth by deciphering the two records and placing them in juxtaposition.

These historical reminiscences of the early world in their northern home dovetail into the account of the beginning of man, which, though in an historical shape, is obviously ideal. In both accounts the Biblical tradition keeps itself free from that personification of ideal conceptions which with a semblance of history generate mythology.

It forms no part of our present purpose to show the peculiar value of the Biblical conception as contrasted with the aberrations of pantheism or fatalism, of dualism or materialism. This important point has been developed in the "Bible Records." But at the close of this section we shall briefly sum up the import of the connexion between our Record and the later accounts in the "Book of the Beginnings."

We must, before doing so, make an application of the result obtained by our analysis of the patriarchal epochs to the question respecting the chronology of the early world, or the duration of the antediluvian, primitive epoch of mankind.

B.

RESTORATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY WORLD
IN THE BIBLE; OR THE LENGTH OF THE LIVES OF THE
PATRIARCHS.

It ought, strictly speaking, to be unnecessary, not to say unseemly, to adduce any proof that if there be historic truth in this tradition, it never can have meant that individual men lived six, seven, eight, or nine centuries. Had this been the case, the statement ought to have been declared intrinsically impossible. But our analysis has shown us that the original account meant no such thing. And still some who serve at the altar and in the halls of science, either from cowardice or superstition (not to impute to them worse motives), are not only not ashamed of avowing their own unbelief, but even call upon other Christians, at the peril of being declared outcasts and infidels, to hold as true Christian faith the absurdities of their assumptions. It is one thing to say "I believe the Biblical account, although I cannot explain it;" another, to set up as an article of faith an absurd explanation, the child of ignorance or of unbelief in the Spirit.

The conclusion we have arrived at by strictly historical arguments is this. We find that it cannot have been the original intention and purport of the tradition to indicate persons by the above names, and still less the length of life of individuals by the dates assigned to them. But they were originally meant to designate, not persons, but epochs. Having not one tradition, but two, we have no historical account; but we have good reasons to believe that what we have is only the misunderstanding of the earliest records of Biblical tradition.

Even in the time of Solomon, the original tradition about Seth and Enosh had ceased to be understood. A century or several centuries afterwards, a man of wisdom and learning gave us the key to it, by simply placing in juxtaposition the Elohist and Jehovist records, instead of abandoning either the one or the other or corrupting both by an arbitrary harmony, as others have done. From the time of Joel downwards, the great prophetic minds among the Jews were as free as was Jesus himself from the dreams which soon after the Captivity obscured the old religious sentiment and narrowed the domain of intellectual freedom. Those men of the Spirit held by the Eternal element in the shell in which it was presented to them — the shell itself they left to be a shell. But the dreams and falsehoods of the Rabbis of Jerusalem, of Alexandria, and of Babylon, found a fertile soil in that decaying world of the Greeks and Romans, to which Christ gave the death-blow. At first they defended themselves as well as they could against scoffers and sceptics; but when the victory was won, and the prize — the lordship of the world — was secured, even in the reign of Constantine, Christian writers, from Eusebius the bishop of Cæsarea downwards, began to act on the offensive, and to enter into the domain of falsehood. For any one who states that he knows a thing to be historical which he has not inquired into, and consequently does not know, is guilty of lying. The Samaritan as well as Septuagint version had already made alterations in the dates of the patriarchs from pitiful rationalism; but Eusebius, for the sake of those dates, which are not only unintelligible in the letter but confused and misunderstood, altered the traditions of the whole of the rest of the old world which was in part perfectly historical. Then came two Byzantine monks, Anianus and Panodorus, with their scheme for reducing the dates to years of single months, or even days, who were not deterred even

by the absurdity of the result, which was that their patriarchs begot children when they were four years old! Shortly after, all intellectual culture and learning perished in the West, and even the compilation of Eusebius was too much for the western world of Rome. Jerome translated only the chronological tables, the Canon, those lifeless dregs of erudition, and not the extracts of authorities which in spite of their mutilation contain authentic information. With that miserable epitome they were contented in the Middle Ages, that is during a thousand years. When in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries men's minds were awakened, there rose the masters of research, but the necessity of political self-defence against persecution prevented them from carrying out fully their researches and fighting out the great intellectual battle. The seventeenth century, that triumph of bigotry and of tyranny in most countries, although beginning with so much light and hope, endeavoured to stifle its own conscience and that of the future by a display of learning partly sophistical and partly spiritless, without ideas and without real erudition. The eighteenth century avenged itself for the opprobrium to which it was obliged to submit, by suicidal mockery, and the nineteenth has in the last thirty years witnessed, together with immortal discoveries, the most senseless and shameless attempts to reestablish in the world ancient and modern fraud, falsehood, and nonsense, and pass it off as orthodoxy. Posterity will find in the noble love of truth and the fearless faith of German research an atonement and consolation for political follies and despotic violence. We must take care not to relax our steps, not to turn round, but to go on in the course of restoration with all boldness and all the aids of research, not for the purpose of destroying an existing fabric, but of building up one that has been crushed by its own falsehood.

The dates we have before us, according to the most correct and the most ancient tradition the Hebrew text, will stand thus according to the solution we have found of that patriarchal genealogy in ten divisions:

Dates of the First Epoch: real or supposed measure of the duration of life in the paradisiacal region, the last primeval abode, before mankind had separated:

A.	The rule of Seth	-	-	-	912 years.
B.	{ Adam	-	-	930	} 1835
	{ Enosh	-	-	905	

As the date given to Seth rests upon a misunderstanding, we must discard, or at all events distinguish it from the other two. As to the date of Adam, it cannot have been original either, as Adam and Enosh are expressions of one and the same epoch. There may have been originally dates attached to Seth (rule of God) and to Adam (first man), but then they must have been tampered with to adapt them to that combination of two parallel lists which we have before us, and which is merely a blunder.

Dates of the Second Epoch: measure of the length of the primeval time from the first Eastern migration down to the Flood; according to the earliest tradition, therefore, to the time of Lamekh, who must be supposed to have died in the year of the Flood.

Kenan	-	-	-	-	910 years.
Mahalael (Mehujael)	-	-	-	-	895
Jared (Irada)	-	-	-	-	962
'Hanokh	-	-	-	-	365
Methushelach (Methushael)	-	-	-	-	969
Lamekh	-	-	-	-	777

4878

Thirdly: the Epoch of the Flood (the life of Noah down to the Flood. 600 years, Gen. vii. 6.).

This last date contains, without any disguise, the great year of the Patriarchs, the original astronomical kosmic year, at the completion of which the equation of the solar and lunar years took place. This cycle, mentioned by Josephus, is based upon the simple early Asiatic computation which Freret was the first to unravel. According to it sixty solar years are equivalent to 742 lunations, that is, sixty years of twelve months and twenty-two intercalated months.

Now assuming the two former epochs, as well as those of the Babylonian foretime to have been computed by lunar years, we require for a kosmic year of 600 years, 618 years and four months ($\frac{600 \times 742}{720}$), or for 3×600 years, exactly 1855 years ($\frac{1800 \times 742}{720}$).

The sum total, therefore, of the first six dates of the historical period of mankind, from Kenan to Lamekh inclusive = 4878, contains in the first place seven complete kosmic years (which reminds us of the seven days of creation), equal to $7 \times 618\frac{1}{3} = 4328$, with 550 years over, or eight cycles, less fifty years.

In other words, the primeval world lasted eight kosmic years, presuming the last to have been computed by solar years. And we are justified in assuming this. For from that time forward there is a sequence of unquestionably solar years, beginning with two complete solar years:

Noah down to the Flood (ninth cycle)	-	600
Shem (Gen. xi. 10—12.), (tenth cycle)	-	600

It is true we have to explain the deficit of 50 years in the eighth cycle: perhaps this difficulty may be got over when we consider what is said about the length of the life of Noah after the Flood. He is stated to have lived 350 years after that event, in all 950. These 350 inter-

vene between two purely cyclical dates. It may therefore originally have been half a cycle, 300 years; and the overplus fifty years belong to the eighth cycle. Two calculations coexisted separately: the epochs of the early world, and then the Noachic period as the starting point of the new world. Noah therefore was connected on one side with the close of the primeval world, on the other with the commencements of the new development: in putting the two together a confusion took place. There is also another way of accounting for it. We might suppose that the error of the fifty years originates in the numbers of the age of the six Patriarchs. The sum total may have consisted of 4928 years, instead of 4878; or there is some more serious discrepancy at the bottom of it. The first solution that offers is this. It has been remarked, at a very early period, that the 969 years of Methushaël end in the very year of the Flood, if we view the dates in a genealogical light, as has been done in our record. Now as the whole of this calculation is based upon a misconception, and this coincidence again cannot be accidental, we may fairly suspect that the 969 years now assigned to Methushaël are due to an intentional alteration. The original number was probably higher. Suppose it was so by fifty-one years (50 solar ones) (1020), and we have the fifty years we want. There were eight cycles before Noah, beginning with Kain, the builder of cities and leader of the primeval migrations. There was one cycle for Noah, and one for Shem: making the total of ten cycles, or 6000 solar years, for primeval history, before the beginning of the Aramaic records respecting the migrations from the mountains of Arrapakhitis. The ten apparent links in the misunderstood patriarchal list may be a relic of the ancient decade of cycles. There are also ten epochs in the Chaldean primeval history.

This whole series, then, is evidently independent of the first period, which represents the epochs prior

to the creation of man, and man in the idea as the eternal thought of God, we meet with a remarkable fact. If we will allow ourselves to overlook its origin, the sum of 1835 years, which is divided not quite equally between Adam and Enosh, corresponds, within 20 years, to three kosmic years converted into lunar years. In order to give three cycles historically, it should be 1855 years. The 20 years which are wanting may be accounted for by supposing that Enosh, the primeval man, had originally 925 instead of 905 assigned to him. These were necessarily to be reduced below 912 as soon as Seth was regarded as the son of Adam and father of Enosh; for the ages of man diminish down to 'Hanokh. The change of 925 into 905 required only the omission of the word or letter for twenty.

Still we had better abstain from meddling with these suspicious dates. We have as satisfactory an explanation of the rest as can be expected in such cases, and the motives which led to the only one alteration we admit, slight as it was, are cogent. The account of the pre-Noachic historical recollections of the Abrahamites, in eight cycles, is preceded by an ideal representation of the God-created humanity, which is eternal in God. It is only by starting from the restored primitive series, that it is possible to attempt any restoration of the dates. The assumption of ten patriarchs is founded upon a misunderstanding; and the conjectures which have been thrown out about it fail in supplying any explanation of the original tradition: but if they were right, they would explain something which originally did not exist, but owes its existence only to a fusion of two lists into one.

C.

THE IMMEDIATE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCHES INTO HEBREW
TRADITIONS ABOUT THE ANTEDILUVIAN WORLD.

It is obvious that if the attempted interpretation of the Biblical narratives about the early world and the meaning of the dates be correct, it must be verified by an examination and restoration of the Hebrew traditions about the commencements of the postdiluvian world. The effect of that process will be to demonstrate that the views on which it is based prevail throughout the tradition itself. If it do this, not only is a chronological framework of universal history established, such as Egypt requires, but a still higher object is attained. The main obstacle to the restoration of such a framework will thus be got over, and the most serious stumbling-block will be removed as to the assumption of the historical character of the scriptural accounts of primeval events. It may in that case be considered as a settled point that the Biblical narratives have taken their legitimate place among the other traditions and records of general history. Finally, the real and eternal signification of the strictly ideal portion of Biblical tradition may now be thoroughly understood. The man of thought will see in the childlike representation the highest truth, and the student of history will obtain the expansion requisite for the existing primeval facts, in particular for languages. For no man can honestly deal with the present chronology, when by the dates of the Pyramids and other contemporaneous monuments he must go back to nearly 4000 B.C., or the Judaic date of creation, in order to arrive at Menes. And what do we find when we have arrived at Menes? A united empire established upon a basis of long and progressive

constitutional development. And this language and this writing again are based upon settled systems of language and written characters which are, even in their commencements, neither the oldest nor even next to the oldest.

But in order to understand the Biblical accounts of the postdiluvian commencements and the registers which go down to Abraham, we require widely different preparations from those which furnish us the key to the understanding of the primeval world. The Biblical history of creation, and the dates of the epochs of primeval humanity, offer no points of contact with the non-Semitic accounts which we possess. But the Biblical traditions about the postdiluvian origines strike deep into the historical life of the oldest Asiatic races and empires, and are checked by many other parallel accounts.

The Semitic kingdoms, as we have seen, in the natural course of events came in contact with the Arian in the year 1903 before Alexander, or the year 2234 B.C., in which Zoroaster, a Median king, that is to say, a ruler and conqueror who professed the doctrine of Zoroaster, took Babylon, and founded the second Babylonian dynasty. From this conquest that form of Chaldean Magism dates which we meet with in history.

But we possess in the language of Egypt a testimony to the fact that many thousand years before there was a community of habits of life between the historical Semites and Arians, which must have left some traces in the manners and traditions of both races. If the Khamitic contains the germs both of the Arian and Semitic formations, as representing two originally cognate series of linguistic development, the Arian people must also have possessed similar traditions about the origines. Can these have been altogether lost? Are those which have survived at variance with our assumption, and do they corroborate the rabbinical chron-

logy, for the authenticity of which a claim is still set up, and that too in the name of Christianity?

Now I maintain that the corresponding Arian traditions have not been lost, that they are deserving of belief, and are in irreconcilable opposition to the Rabbinical views. Indeed, unless we are altogether in error, they corroborate and form a supplement to our assumptions, and to a far greater extent than previous critics have ever ventured to assume. The three traditions which have been analysed in the foregoing volume are wholly independent of each other. They exhibit a remarkable identity in such particular points as cannot be accidental, nor can be accounted for by the general nature of the human mind, which is the favourite phrase of those who in history supply the ignorance of facts by hollow assumptions. All these fully bear out our views as to the epochs of mankind there laid down as the results of Egyptian research. We have thus been enabled to fix within more restricted limits the place of Egypt in history, and at the same time have obtained the landmarks required for the general history of the world. We have likewise obtained a further corroboration of the Biblical traditions about the real beginning and starting-point of the human race, as well as a fresh proof of its physiological and historical unity. With this we have direct evidence of the uninterrupted organic connexion in the development of our race during thousands of years, some of which were contemporaneous with the Old Empire of Egypt, and some immediately preceded the time of Menes.

D.

RESTORATION OF THE DATES OR EPOCHS OF THE HEBREW TRADITIONS AFTER THE FLOOD AND PRIOR TO ABRAHAM.
—CONCLUSION AND GENERAL RESULT OF THE COMPARISON BETWEEN THE HEBREW ORIGINES AND THE EGYPTIAN AND ASIATIC.

I.

GENERAL RESTORATION OF THE POSTDILUVIAN PERIOD ACCORDING TO THE ABRAHAMITIC TRADITIONS IN ARAMÆA.

WE have in the preceding volume investigated the synchronisms of the Hebrews with Egypt upwards, starting from the date of Joseph, which we have established, and the history back to Abraham, his real, not mythical, progenitor.

In the present volume we have attempted to extract out of the antediluvian accounts in the Bible all the historical matter. The system of epochs and dates thus obtained has served to confirm our general view of the history of the primeval world, which goes back to the epoch when the great historical races of the post-diluvian times begin to appear upon the scene.

The remainder of this portion of our task will be devoted to an examination of the period between the epoch of Shem and the historical Abraham. No conjecture as to its duration can be attempted until we have thoroughly examined all the non-Hebrew records and traditions about the beginnings, especially the Aramæan epoch immediately preceding Abraham (from 3000 to 6000 B.C.; or even farther back).

In other words, we shall have, in pursuance of the plan of this work, before we conclude our researches into the origines, to test the Biblical traditions from

Shem to Abraham, and then to say a few words upon the chronological as well as historical result.

The higher starting-point has been so far established that we have shown that the 600 years assigned to Shem comprise a whole cycle, like the years of Noah in the antediluvian times. We assumed, therefore, that the traditional postdiluvian date of Noah was originally 300 years instead of the present one in the ninth chapter of Genesis, 350. What renders it more probable that 50 of these years belong to the ante-Noachian time is the fact that there is a deficit in that period of exactly 50 years. The first section, therefore, of Hebrew tradition about the origins is Aramaic or Chaldee, and made up of cycles. These are followed by historical, not cyclical, dates. This series terminates with the migration of Abraham into Egypt, which, reckoning backwards from Joseph, brought us to the year 2877 B.C.

At the conclusion of our inquiry into the Jewish synchronisms, there was a marked difference between Abraham and the preceding names of the Aramaic fathers. They were not of a personal character, but most of them geographical. But they are not mythical either, for they present a solid historical basis in the sequence of those geographical dates respecting the migrations of the Aramæans, as preserved in the traditions and recollections of the descendants of Abraham.

Enough has been said in the preceding volume (p. 360—375) about his ancestors, that is, about the epochs of the Aramaic era of his race, represented in the form of a chronological series of clans and families, who pushed forward in their settlements from east to west.

Here we have to examine the traditional dates assigned to them from the reverse point of view, namely, from the earlier ages downwards. It is so obvious that before the

time of Arpakshad the reckoning was cyclical throughout, that our main business is to ascertain how the geographical dates, when the Semites descended from the high mountains of Arrapakhitis to Mesopotamia and the Euphrates, gradually changed into dates of individual persons.

		Cyclical dates.
A. The years of NOAH after the Flood:		
a half cycle - - - -		300 years.
B. The years of SHEM: a cycle -		600
		<hr/>
Sum of cyclical time - -		900 years.

		Historical dates.
I. ARPAKSHAD (residence in Arrapakhitis - - - -		438 years.
II. SELA'H - - - -		433
III. 'HEBER - - - -		464
IV. PELEG - - - -		239
V. RE'HU - - - -		239
VI. SERUG (Osroëne) - - -		230
VII. NA'HOR (colonies in Padan Aram)		148
VIII. THERA'H (in Haran) - -		275
including ABRAHAM, down to the immigration (75).		<hr/>
Historical dates - -		2466 years.

In the first section there is no real chronology. The date of Noah, the patriarch of the new race, i.e. the representative of the new beginnings, is half an astronomical period; his antediluvian date was an entire one.

Again: another whole period is assigned to the undivided term of the existence of the Semitic race. In other words, one third of the age of Noah (a cycle and a half), and 50 years more, belonged to the postdiluvian

chronology ; and a complete cycle was given to Shem, to the period prior to the first separation of the Semitic races, that is, before they immigrated into Arrapakhitis, the mountain district between Kurdistan and Armenia.

When they come to Arrapakhitis, however, the calculation by cycles ceases. We have records respecting the duration of the successive sojournings of the tribe from which Abraham descended, in their progress to Haran and the Euphrates. The dates given are neither cyclical nor round numbers. What may appear not quite historical is the succession of the three numbers, 239 twice, and 230. Leaving out the first two ($2 \times 239 = 478$) we arrive at the lowest possible sum, 1988 years before Abraham, instead of 2466.

The highest date for the commencement		
of the patriarchal histories of Abraham would be (2466+2877)		- 5343 B.C.
The critical date (1988+2877)		- 4865

Or, if the year 2866 be adopted (as has been proposed in the "Bible Records") as the year of Abraham's immigration, the two possible dates will be

Highest	-	-	-	-	-	5332 B.C.
Lowest	-	-	-	-	-	4854

We may therefore say, in round numbers, that their reminiscences in the state of separation date back from about 5000 years B.C.

The ordinary ecclesiastical chronology makes the birth of Adam the year 4000 B. C. The above remarks are more than sufficient to prove how irreconcilable with the historical accounts of the Bible so absurd a chronology must be, and to how much earlier a period the reminiscences of the particular Semitic race from

which Abraham sprang went back. And behind it we have the two cyclical epochs of postdiluvian life.

We have seen in the Fourth Book (p. 360—375.) that the whole Aramaic list is divided into four sections, the first member of which represents merely the starting-point, that is, the sojourn in Arrapakhitis. From that time forward, however, everything moves organically on the line to the westward and southward. In the same ratio also of progression the countries become individuals, the chronology of man takes the place of the chronology of countries. The son of the earth has come to years of maturity.

Sela'h (Sala'h, mission) indicates that the race had pushed forward their settlements. They are still on the other side of the Tigris, but they are nearer to that river, and consequently to Mesopotamia. The "Passage" ('Heber, Eber) is not that of the Euphrates, which was first crossed by Abraham: it must therefore signify the passage from the left to the right bank of the Tigris. From this time till after Abraham crossed the Euphrates, the whole scene of the history of the race lies in Mesopotamia, and in a south-westerly direction. During these journeyings westward, the third link after Eber is demonstrably the colony at Osroëne near Edessa. As remarked in the preceding Book it is probable that Tera'h is an individual personage, mixed up, however, with an epoch. He is said first to have inhabited Ur of the Chaldees, whence he afterwards moved onwards with his children. But he is also accompanied by "the children of Haran," and whither do they go? to Haran, which is the well-known name of the new district. The date assigned to the term of Tera'h's life is still in character with the computation by epochs, 205 years being assigned to him.

Nahor then and Tera'h are individual persons, and consequently historical; but it is with Abraham that

the strictly historical tradition commences, so that it may also remain a moot point, whether we ought to insert this period of 205 years into the old historical series, or commence at the year prior to Abraham's emigration.

As the whole chronology of that period is merely fragmentary, it being impossible to fix the starting point, nothing turns upon this. There are at all events about 2500 years to be taken into account, forming a progressive chronological series of nearly 2000. Before this period lie two cyclical periods, called Noah and Sem, that is to say, a space wholly undefined: we have then a long and equally undefinable period during which the Semitic race, before their dispersion, occupied the highlands of Asia. Finally, the historical Semites are not the oldest race, that of Kham immediately precedes them. Now the monuments and traditions of Egypt, as well as the history of language, require certainly something like 4000 years for the period of the dream-life of that race before the beginning of the Aramaic migration. These four millenniums, in obedience to the laws of chronological perspective, have dwindled into that cycle and a half.

But how does this view of the epochs of the Abrahamitic Aramæan migrations, and the primeval Semitic time in which the Semitic race individualized itself into its branches, square with the account of the Tower of Babel and the realm of Nimrod?

II.

NIMROD AND THE TOWER OF BABEL, AND THEIR CONNEXION WITH
THE BUILDING OF BABYLON AND THE TEMPLE OF BELUS.

NIMROD and his kingdom are either a myth, or the most ancient relic of political history. We know

nothing of him but from the Biblical narrative where he and his kingdom stand quite isolated. The text protests against the assumption that he was a Semite: he is called a son of Kush, which, as we shall see, means either an Ethiopian or a Kossian Turanian. Besides, our Babylonian researches in the former volume have incontestably proved that Nimrod was not introduced among the kings of the first Chaldean dynasty, and must therefore have preceded it. The Christian annalists, as well as Josephus, knew from the work of Berosus, or at all events of Polyhistor, the names of 87 kings, of whom that first Babylonian dynasty consisted, and Nimrod was not among them. It was their own unfortunate guess, that Nimrod was Euechios, the first of that dynasty, who is said to have reigned 3000 years, and whose son and successor, Chomasbelos, reigned 2700. But even this is direct proof that they attributed to the Nimrod invasion a very remote antiquity. For irrespective of vast periods assigned to these two supposititious rulers, the remaining 85 are said to have reigned nearly 30,000 years.

Our criticism, as we believe, has devised a method by which the historical part of the first dynasty is reduced to 1550 Julian years before the Median conquest, which was the commencement of the regular chronological registration of the oldest Chaldean kings. This leads to the further calculation:

Taking of Babylon by Zoroaster	-	2234 B. C.
Chaldean kings before	- - -	1550
		<hr/>
Beginning of Chaldee chronology		3784

Nimrod may have reigned thousands of years before that time, but he cannot have lived later than 4000.

Having once established this point, we may hope to

learn from the Bible something more than the above extracts from the Chaldee annals tell us. It appears that we may be able to prove the undeniable historical existence of that earliest empire, which made so vast a change in the condition of Asia in the primitive times, and to connect that event with an ethnological period now veiled under the tradition of the tower of Babel and of the confusion of languages. Having treated this subject fully in the first volume of the "Bible Records" (p. 69—76.) I may confine myself here to giving the outlines and results of that research.

According to the Bible, Nimrod was a Kushite. That certainly was the meaning of the compiler of our book of Genesis. Nimrod is mentioned in the tenth chapter, in a fragment incorporated in the genealogy of Kham ver. (8—12.). From Kham are descended Mizraim and Kush, and Nimrod is the son of Kush. But how should a revolution in Central Asia have its origin in Ethiopia, the historical monuments of which are, besides, now proved to be of very recent date?

Now the same Hebrew letters may also be read KUS or KOS, and this must be the meaning of the word here and in chapter ii. 13., according to the original tradition. The Kossians were an ancient tribe, occupying the mountainous country east of the Tigris. This is the abode of the Scythians. Thus it is explained that the beginning of the empire of Nimrod is stated to have been the plain of Southern Babylonia (Sinear, Shinhar).

Nimrod is the oldest individual personage sprung from the race or country of the Kossians, or the Turanian (Scythian) race represented by him, which formed a vast historical empire. This kingdom must be prior to all the Semitic kingdoms, as the Turanian language is prior to the Semitic.

The next consequence is that the inroad and conquests

of Nimrod must have exercised considerable influence upon the earliest condition of the whole of the Semitic races. If not, why was he mentioned as a well-known conqueror and ruler? In fact, the Hebrew genealogies bear traces of a great movement immediately after the epoch of Heber. He is called "the man who crossed" (the Tigris): and one of his two sons, Yoqtan, the chief of the first Arabian emigration, proceeds southwards. The epoch of Heber is some two thousand years before Abraham, and would be therefore, according to this date, about 4500 or 5000 years before Christ.

There is a remarkable agreement here with our calculation of the historical starting-point of the first dynasty in Babylon (3784 B.C.). At all events it is clear that it must be subsequent to Nimrod. But it is also clear that prior to Nimrod there are only epochs, such as those which are indicated by the dates of Euechios and Chomasbelos.

The rule of Nimrod, therefore, forms somewhere in the period prior to 3784 a break in the national independence of the primitive Chaldean Mesopotamia. The historical series begins after the Turanian empire was dissolved.

Difficult, however, as it is to define accurately the date of Nimrod, we may safely assume that it must be earlier than the fourth millennium before Christ. The whole movement can hardly have been one of a brief and transient kind. Among other proofs of this is the frequent mention of Nimrod in the Bible; the name Susa, indeed, as the city of Memnon, and the designation of the heap of ruins of the temple at Borsippa (Birs Nimrud), may also refer to the same reminiscences. Nimrod's name is connected with all the cities and towns as far as the highlands of Kurdistan and Phrygia even; the probability that his expedition may have formed the historical nucleus of the legend of

Atlantis, is independent of the explanation of the name of his native country.

At the present stage of our inquiry the most important thing is to distinguish properly between the epochs. When was the temple of Belus erected? Probably when Babylon was primitively built. And to what epoch have we to refer the construction of this great Gate of God (Bab-El)? We must, in order to clear the ground, first discard all idea of the Birs Nimrud representing the Sanctuary of Babylon. The temple of Bel was in the centre of the town, and Birs Nimrud is seven miles ($2\frac{1}{2}$ hours) from that place. Besides we learn from the bilingual inscription found on the original spot by Rawlinson in the walls of the temple among the ruins of Birs Nimrud, that this building which forms the nucleus of that mound, was the sanctuary of Merdach (Mars) erected by Nabopolassar and Nabukodrossor.

Now there is in existence some information upon the subject of the date of the foundation of Babylon which seems to be of an unimpeachable character, though it has hitherto been overlooked. Philo of Byblus, in his learned work about celebrated cities (*Hist. Græc. Fragm.* iii. 575), as we learn from Stephanus of Byzantium, made the following statement about it:

“Babylon was built not by Semiramis, as Herodotus says, but by Babylon, a wise man, the son of the All-wise Belus, who, as Herennius states, lived 2000 years before Semiramis.”

We find this same account as coming from Herennius (Philo), in Eustathius (Comment. to Dionys. v. 1005.), with this difference, that in the latter it is said to be 1800 years from the time of the building of the tower of Babel to Semiramis.

The former account makes it $1250 + 2000 = 3250$ B. C.
 The latter „ „ $1250 + 1800 = 3050$

We know from the extracts of Sankhuniathon that Philo was thoroughly well informed as to the date of Semiramis. The tradition preserved in the former account makes the date of the building of Babylon the sixth or eighth century in the Chaldee chronology, which seems perfectly suitable: the building of the temple of Belus consequently must be placed at earliest about 3000 B.C. It is probable that Berosus or Polyhistor, or even Callisthenes, was the authority from whom Philo derived this information. That the name of the king is identified with the name of the town is the same case as with Romulus and Rome. The building of Babylon, therefore, and the erection of the temple of Belus, may upon the whole be said to be contemporaneous, just as in the Bible the building of the city and that of the tower, which caused the confusion of tongues, are supposed to have happened simultaneously.

There can be no doubt that there was a tower of Nimrod in the early times before the Chaldee period, but this by no means implies the existence of a town.

The two accounts have nothing to do with each other, and belong to entirely different periods. According to Gen. xi. the tower was, in the first place, not a temple at all, but a watch-tower, a fortified observatory and rallying point in the middle of a vast plain. It is likewise connected with the decline of the kingdom of Nimrod and the dispersion of the nations.

The historical fact, from what has been said, would seem to be this.

Antecedent to the building of Babylon and its shrine we have a connected series of historical Chaldean kings, from 600 to 800 years. But before this date (nearly 4000 B.C.) there are computations of epochs, the beginnings of which as regards Babylon must be purely mythical remains of the very earliest traditions, at latest, those of the patriarchal age of the Semites before their

dispersion. They terminate, however, doubtless in the foretime of Babylon itself, that is, of Southern Mesopotamia. All these beginnings are Chaldean: for Berossus has comprised them all in the age of the first race of Chaldean kings.

The empire of Nimrod, i. e. the ancient Scythian invasion of the Kossians, forms an intervening dominion, namely, that very break in the Chaldee beginnings, and is mentioned in the Bible immediately after the age of Noah, as an entirely isolated event. Nimrod found Chaldean races at Babylon, and the descendants of their princes overthrew his usurped dominion. The whole of the older period might, therefore, be called Chaldean.

But this period extended so very far back into the hoariest antiquity, and the dissolution of his empire carried with it such momentous consequences, that it appeared in their reminiscences as the beginning of the formation of nations. This is not strictly historical. For, as we have seen, the real breaking up of the one language means nothing less than the individualisation of that one undivided mass of language and people represented by the Chinese. Now, as the Egyptian language attests, that primitive tongue, which does not possess what we call "parts of speech," had already been broken up in Central Asia towards the close of the antediluvian period. However, the great separation of the civilising tribes in Central Asia had not yet taken place at the time of the immigration into Egypt. The elements which became afterwards Semitic or Arian were as yet unseparated, and this phase is in Eastern Asia Turanism, in Western Asia Khamism. Now as the different tribes rose to a higher state of civilisation, and as each gave to his own language the stamp of individuality, something analogous to the breaking up of the primitive monosyllabic language took place after the dissolution of the primitive Scythian empire. Indi-

vidual religious feeling and individual social life took an independent shape and broke through the uniformity of the previous habits of life.

The Bible narrative, therefore, is not a myth: its nucleus is strictly historical, and it may go back even to the eighth millennium. The first compiler of these records preserved the fragment, but misunderstood it in connecting it with Kush, Ethiopia.

Lastly, as regards the royal names which have been recovered by means of the cuneiform inscriptions, and their chronological order, it must be admitted that everything anterior to the 8th or 9th century appears to stand on a very unstable footing, owing to the want of a chronology, and here and there even on account of the uncertainty as to the reading of the names. We do not entertain the slightest doubt as to the reality and historical character of the older royal names, which have been deciphered by Rawlinson and others. There may also have been in the 9th century a queen, or royal spouse, bearing the name of Semiramis, who nevertheless can no more be the great conqueress and foundress of the empire of the Ninyads than the wife of Nebukhadnezzar. The succession of kings, again, given in his first accounts by Rawlinson, may even be correct (see "Lit. Gaz." 1856, p. 189. seqq. on Sir H. Rawlinson's paper, read before the Royal Institution, April 15.). But it is wholly impossible to accept this as the serious conclusion of the inquiry, if the two earliest kings, who, according to that article, are read Urukh and Igli, are to be placed as late as 2234. For, as we have had occasion to mention repeatedly, that is without any doubt the identical year of the beginning of the second Median dynasty. To overlook a fixed point like this would be in the highest degree unscientific. The last king of the next group, Kudur-Mapula (Rawlinson compares the name Kedor-La'homer, Gen. xiv.), is placed by him at 1950, owing probably to his having calculated

downwards from the above false date of the first dynasty, and which therefore must be too low. But, besides this, the interval between the two groups is too small. The names themselves in the first three groups, assuming them to be properly deciphered upon the whole, are decidedly not Arian. It is only those of the fourth group, which begin to sound like Arian. Be this as it may, however, the King Uruk who is represented as the patriarch is a Chaldean, and must have reigned considerably earlier than 2234.

Under these circumstances, every friend of historic truth, as well as of etymology and archæology, must have been delighted to hear that the British government has assigned (since 1856) a considerable sum for the publication of the historical cuneiform inscriptions of the British Museum and of the fragments of the Chaldean syllabaria. It would be desirable, in order to avoid further delay, to publish the texts not already analyzed by Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. Norris, as they are, without interpretation or detailed comment.

III.

THE LANGUAGE AND RELIGION OF THE ABRAHAMITES.

THE relation of Abraham to the mythology of Kanaan was the direct reverse of his position as regarded their language.

Abram, the Hebrew who migrated from the Trans-Euphrates country, adopted the language of Kanaan, which had a close affinity with the Aramaic, although distinctly different from it. The language of Sidon, the first-born son of Kanaan, and that of the renowned Tyre is pure Old Hebrew; although, in the monuments we possess, the Phœnician is in some of its forms and names more archaic, in others more modern. The Karthaginian colonists carried over to Africa the Phœnician language of the ninth century

B.C., and doubtless also preserved in later times many an antique form which in the mother country had undergone wear and tear. Hebrew, however, is the Kanaanitish dialect of the thirtieth century, adopted by Abraham in the stead of his own Aramaic tongue, and its whole development from that time forth was one of a very peculiar character. 1400 years after Joseph, Kanaan was occupied in common by Israelites, Edomites, and Kanaanites, as separate nations, and the Kanaanites, as the more remote connexions, were not even looked upon as belonging to the old race.

This circumstance explains the fact of the written Phœnician language (the oldest extant specimen of which is on the sarkophagus of Ashmunezer) and the Hebrew of the Bible being as distinct as Dutch and Low-German: but the Hebrew and Aramaic differ as Danish and German. Abraham dropped the mother tongue of his race, the Aramaic, and adopted the Semitic idiom of the country which the Lord had assigned to him and his descendants. The language of the Bible is also called in the Old Testament (Isaiah xix. 18.) the language of Kanaan, in no instance Hebrew.

For further details I would venture to refer the reader to what has been said on this subject in the "Outlines" and in the introduction to the "Bible-work." The views there expressed are still further corroborated by our Comparative Egypto-Semitic Dictionary, as regards the formation of words.

With all this difference between their religious positions, it is nevertheless true that the connexion between the religious ideas of the Abrahamites and those of the Aramæans was in direct correspondence with the relation between their language and that of the larger family of nations from which Abraham separated off his own descendants, especially as regards the inherited historical basis of it. The natural groundwork of the religion of Abraham is the same Aramaic; it is only

Kanaanitish in so far as the two are connected in their beginnings. But while Abraham abandoned the language of Aramæa, in order to adopt that of Kanaan, he kept aloof from the prevailing Palestinian religion, the mythology of the land of Kanaan. He also threw off at once all connexion with the land of his birth, in every particular at variance with the religion internally revealed to him. While adopting the most direct antagonism to the still more corrupt religion of Kanaan, he also separated in all essential points from Aram. For, recognising as he did, and holding fast by faith, the direct and internal character of the relation between man and God, he founded upon this belief a new association, as had been done in the remote Bactria by Zarathustra; whose reform of the Nature-worship did not, however, take effect in Babylon and among the Semitic races generally till five centuries after. The great deed of Abraham may be designated thus, that he retained only such of the national habits of the Aramæans and of their ancient traditions as were not in contradiction with his highest principle. Everything opposed to this was abolished, and the unobjectionable elements were spiritualised: but the harmless reminiscences and expressions in popular use remained untouched.

Upon no other assumption can the indisputable traces of the original connexion be accounted for. We find not only old heathen expressions, such as the name of a public courtesan designated as the "dedicated" (the temple attendant who was consecrated to Mylitta), but also early mythological reminiscences mixed up with genuine historical tradition about the lives of the Hebrew patriarchs. We at the present day say our Lord was crucified on the day of Freya or Venus, without being scandalised by it, or feeling as if we were using profane language. This is true also of the coincidences with the mythological names that we have met with when explaining the theogonies of Babylon and of Philo.

The true God might just as well be designated by names which, like El, Elohim, were also used by the Aramaic or Kanaanitish races. Each of these had inherited them from their fathers; and Moses knew, and the educated Israelites remained a long time conscious, that they used them, not merely in their real, but also in their most ancient sense.

As regards the history, we have pointed out in what instances individuals are mentioned in Scripture, and those in which persons are intended to express races or epochs. The personality of Abraham is unquestionable, and all the important circumstances related of him and his race are strictly historical. The history of the Jewish patriarchs is no more a personal representation of an unhistorical state of popular life and the different phases of its development, than, as according to Dupuis and some obscure German writers, it is of constellations or Kabiri. All such notions are as unhistorical as the rabbinical views, but far more unpardonable.

The historical basis, on the contrary, is a morally conscious personality, in which the individuality of Abraham stands out by far the most prominently. As the arch-patriarch he stamps his image upon his posterity, indeed upon mankind. Isaac is as certainly the bodily son and Jacob the bodily grandson of Abraham, as Joseph is the bodily son of Jacob and great-grandson of Abraham.

But it is no less undeniable that during the lapse of the many centuries between Joseph and Moses, in which the tradition was developed into a popular epos among the tribes of Israel, many reminiscences and symbols of the pre-Abrahamitic times were interwoven into the history of the three patriarchs, as was the case with those of Charlemagne and Alfred. ISRAEL was a mythological name; the change, therefore, to Jacob originally meant nothing more than that he to whom the glorious vision was vouchsafed was the true Is-

rael, the true wrestler with God. So also with the name of Esau (Usoy), the Edomite brother of Jacob; and with Keturah, the wife of Abraham, in so far as he was considered the true ancestor of the Ishmaelitish Arabs. All this proves the impartiality and candour of the narrative which we possess. It adopts ancient tradition as far as it is inoffensive. When thus understood, the following synopsis of the parallels between the Biblical names and traditions, and the corresponding names and traditions of the ancient mythological Semites, will but enhance the respect for the antiquity and sacredness of our Biblical records.

IV.

SYNOPSIS OF THE POINTS OF CONTACT IN THE HEBREW NAMES OF GOD AND THOSE OF THE PATRIARCHS, AND THE OTHER DESIGNATIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE TIMES, WITH THOSE OF THE MYTHOLOGICAL SEMITES.

I. POINTS OF CONTACT IN THE NAME OF GOD.

<i>Hebrew.</i>	<i>Mythological Semitic.</i>
'EL, God, the strong, hero.	'EL, Kronos in Phœnician.
'ELOHIM, the Gods, God.	'ELIM, 'ELOHIM, the Gods, son of Kronos.
'HELYON, the highest (rising).	'HELYUN, the highest (Phœnician).
'ADONAI, the Lord (properly, "my Lord").	ADON, ADONI, Ἀδωνος, the Lord.
YAH, Jahve (Jehovah), the eternal.	(?) YAH in KOL-PI-YAH (Sankhun.); God.

II. COINCIDENCES IN THE EARLY HISTORICAL NAMES.

<i>Hebrew.</i>	<i>Mythological Semitic.</i>
'ADAM, the red, the earthy, the first man.	('ADAM or 'EDOM, the red,) the first man, Γῆϊνος, Ἐπίγειος, Αὐτόχθων.

<i>Hebrew.</i>	<i>Mythological Semitic.</i>
QAYIN, Kain, son of Adam.	(QAYIN) Τεχνίτης, God, brother of the Αὐτόχθων, son of MELEKH (the God Molokh).
SETH, son of Adam.	SET, SUTI, the supreme God of the Hethites and other Kanaanites: comp. SET, SUTI, Σῶθις of the Egyptians = Typhon.
YUBAL, son of Lamekh.	YUBAL, the Phœnico-Karthaginian Hercules-Esmun, signifies the beauty of Baal.
'HADAH, name of Lamekh's wife and Esau's wife (beauty).	('HADAH) Διώνη, the daughter of Kronos (Sankhun.).
NA'HAMAH, daughter of Lamekh and of 'Hada (grace).	NA'HAMAH, Ὠρα.
YISRA'EL, struggler with God, surname of Jacob.	(YISRAEL) Παλαίμων.
'HESAV, name of the brother of Isaac, the hairy, Edom.	('HESAV) Οὔσωος, brother of Hypsuranios Semenum, Ares: the rough, wild, violent.

III. SACRED DESIGNATIONS, OR THOSE BELONGING TO RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

<i>Hebrew.</i>	<i>Mythological Semitic.</i>
BETH-'EL, the house of the Lord.	(BETH-'EL) Βαιτόλιον, sacred stones, stones of enchantment which fell from heaven: also God Βαίτολος, coming from Uranos.

*Hebrew.**Mythological Semitic.*

KERUBIM, divine messengers and powers (angels).	(‘HERUB) Πῦρ, Fire-heat, old Phœnician God.
SERAPHIM (Is. vi.), similar beings with six wings.	(SERAPH) Φλόξ, Brand, his brother: with regard to the six wings comp. the divine representation of El.
’URIM, light, shield of the high priest.	(’UR) Φῶς, brother of the preceding.
TERAPHIM, household Gods, images of ancestors.	(TERAPH) Γένος, brother of Γενεά (Toledoth), God.
NEPHILIM, giants of early times.	(NEPHILIM) the Phœnician Titans, of the old race of Gods.

V.

SYNOPSIS OF THE RESULT OF THE COMPARISON BETWEEN THE KHAMITIC ORIGINES AND THOSE OF THE SEMITES GENERALLY, AND THE HEBREWS IN PARTICULAR.

WE may venture from our historical point of view to sum up the result of our previous researches in the following fourteen theses:

First. The patriarchal dates were neither made up by the later narrator, nor by the person who found the Jehovistic record existing in a form already misunderstood, or who arranged it accordingly. For it is only when we have brought the two traditions, contained partly in the one record partly in the other, back to their simplest and original form, that we get a clue to the original system of astronomical Chaldean cycles.

Second. This is true also as regards the purport of it. There is no meaning to be gleaned from it except by restoring the primitive tradition: like all original traditions, it is rational and intelligible.

Third. It consisted of two slightly dialectically differing versions, both of them the inheritance of the same race at different periods. We may now call them the Elohim-version (afterwards the Jahveh-Elohim) and the Seth-version. The latter was called by the Jews the Jahveh-version when the name of Seth had fallen into disuse, owing to its being the name of a Kanaanitish idol.

Fourth. The first portion of this tradition is purely ideal, the second belongs to the world of reality, and contains reminiscences of the thousands of years during which man lived before the Flood in his primeval home.

Fifth. The ideal portion combines with the historical primitive man the ideal man as the finite spirit of the universe. This ideal man is Humanity, in and through which the eternal infinite thought of the kosmos is realised in time according to the laws of existence. The transition from the will of man resting instinctively in the Divine will into the free will of conscious man, or the choice of good and evil, belongs to this ideal sphere. This freedom of choice appears indeed in the first instance as the Fall and the cause of death: but through the indwelling Divine Spirit it becomes the means of God being still more glorified in man, and hence the preliminary condition of the saving act of the Redemption of Humanity. Universal history, as viewed from the centre of religious consciousness in the world, is the verification of this history of the Book of the Origines: but the life of every man is, consciously or unconsciously, its repetition.

Sixth. Abel, Hebel, i. e. thing of nought, a breath that passes away, also belongs to this ideal sphere. The name itself precludes us from considering him merely as the first peaceful shepherd. He expresses

the race of mortal men, the son of the mortal mother of life. In this respect he is the personification of the eternal tragedy of human existence, as being nought, contrasted with the Divine life. But this ideal personality becomes historical, as the type of the struggle of the harmless nomade shepherds against the powerful overbearing inhabitants of fixed cities, who are typified by the name of Kain (Qayin): a struggle which runs through the whole history of Asia. Abel is the first victim of this continual struggle. In Kain, too, man becomes historically conscious of sin. The abuse of free will leads to the determination of committing the most horrid crime, and the consummation of the crime to racking qualms of conscience. But the eternal judgment of God hangs over this deed: Kain lives and becomes the progenitor not only of the city-building Arian, but also of the vast Turanian race which wanders about, all but cut off from the rest of mankind.

Seventh. The first epoch of the early world of which the reminiscences have been preserved is therefore represented by the original Turanian, who boldly and sullenly migrated to the eastward.

Eighth. This was followed by the Middle Ages of the early world, the life of separate races who remained behind. Here we have a repetition of the contrast between heroes and saints, warriors and priests: but the heroic races stood aloof, although not at enmity like the Turanians. Mankind advanced in two vast directions: to the eastward the heroes, to the westward the sacerdotal tribes. The predominant feeling of the latter is separation, the keeping aloof from the impure; that of the other, the extension of godlike heroic life.

Ninth. The third epoch is the mixture of the strong and of the pious races. The result of this union

is a race of overbearing heroes and nations. A new life pervades humanity: but man cannot bear its charms. It brings on its own dissolution by its luxuriousness, haughtiness, and debauchery. The old world at last perishes in its original home by a catastrophe.

Tenth. The great Flood is an era of undefinable duration, and the new beginnings are equally undefinable as to length. There is no tradition either about the last age of the old world or of its duration.

Eleventh. In the earliest definable eras a vast migration of the Semitic races took place, in consequence, apparently, of the foundation of the first historical empire — that of Nimrod, which made an inroad upon them. But these beginnings are real facts, just as much as the above-mentioned catastrophe and dissolution, and they are facts of the highest importance, indispensable indeed to enable us to understand the circumstances which ensued from them, and the connexion of the different races which sprang up out of obscurity.

Twelfth. All nations have historical recollections of the early world: there are traditions about the Flood only among those which, evidently from their language, did not exist till after that event. In spite of all the misunderstandings, travesties, and disguises, there is, however, a marvellous harmony among these traditions. The most purely historical is the one inherited, though only in a fragmentary state, and preserved by the race from which Abraham proceeded, he himself being the earliest historical personage and the father of modern history.

Thirteenth. There is no internal connexion whatever between the Hebrew beginnings, the separation of the Abrahamites, or Mosaic legislation, and Egypt: the roots of Hebrew life are to be

found only in early Semitic, and principally in the oldest Aramaic.

Fourteenth. The mythological Semites of the post-diluvian times exercised no social influence upon the Egyptians. The voyage of the Kabiri to Pelusium, mentioned in the Phœnician histories, is the earliest Asiatic emigration to the valley of the Nile. Between it and the invasion and establishment of the Hyksos races there may have been many movements backwards and forwards, and many vicissitudes in the intercourse of the Khamites and Semites in Lower Egypt, but there is no record of them.

After having thus brought to a close our proposed analysis of the origines of the Semites, and established their relation to Khamite tradition, we may safely extend our research, and cast a glance at the sources of the Arian traditions respecting those origines.

PART VI.

EGYPTIAN, SEMITIC, AND ARIAN TRADITIONS CONFRONTED

AND

THE GENERAL RESULT.

SECTION I.

A.

THE GENUINE REMINISCENCES OF THE 'ARIANS IN INDIA
ABOUT THE PRIMEVAL COUNTRY AND THE FLOOD.

THE same earliest reminiscences of the primitive times of their race which we have met with among the Bactrians exist indeed among the Indians. Neither the recollection of the great catastrophe in the primeval country, nor that of the historical migration of their Arian fathers from their northern home, has been lost.

The North, with the mountain of Meru, is also the sacred primeval land of the Indians. Pamer is merely the country about Meru (Upameru). Some geographical tradition about it, indeed, must have existed in which its limits were defined. The Ottorokorrha of Ptolemy are evidently and by general admission the Indian Uttara-Kuru, i. e. the Northern Kuru. He describes them in his geography as inhabiting a district in the extreme north of Central Asia, of which he gives the latitude and longitude. This he could only have learned from the Indians. Hecataeus also mentions them in his history, and his information must have been derived from the Persians. From the notices contained in the Zoroastrian record it cannot be matter of surprise that the two statements tally.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ This passage is in Pliny, N. H. vi. 20. (§ 55.), comp. iv. 26. § 90. Comp. Ritter, Erdkunde, ii. 10. seqq., and Forbiger, 54. 140. Kiepert's

The concordance, therefore, between the Indian and Iranian traditions is complete. The journey to Sogd was not from north to south, but rather from east to west. The paradise of Bactria is direct north-east, as their descendants who came to India were well aware. It cannot be said, therefore, that the Indians acquired their knowledge of this north-eastern primeval country through Alexander.

As already remarked, the tradition about the Flood could not have been lost among the Iranian followers of Zoroaster in the primeval land. But in India we find it expressly mentioned. Weber, in his "Indian Studies,"¹⁰⁷ has argued that the variations in the account of it in the Brâhmanas of the Yagur-veda are very ancient and genuine, in opposition to Burnouf and Lassen, who suppose it to have been introduced into Indian literature by means of Semitic influences.

We find it in the Vedic contemplations (Brâhmanas), which form the second part of the White Yagur-veda, edited by Burnouf. It is true that it has there almost the garb of fable, yet it contains many peculiar traits which are not found in the Purâna and the epos of the Mahâbhârata, and the general drift of it is as follows. Manu, the patriarch of the human race, one morning found a little fish in some water in which he was going to wash. He took it up in his hand, and the fish said to him: "Take care of me and I will save you." "Save me from what?" said Manu. "A flood," replied the fish, "will sweep away every living thing:

map in Lassen's *Indian Antiquities* places them on the northern slope of the Himalaya, below the Dhavalagiri, somewhere in the meridian of Palibothra; D'Anville, quite to the north, near the springs of the Bautisus, not far from the sources of the Hoangho, as does Forbiger. I think the safest course will be not to separate Meru and Uttara-Kuru: and the site of Meru is fixed by Pamer to which district all the other references seem also to point.

¹⁰⁷ i. 2. pp. 161—232.

I will save you from it." "How shall I take care of you?" "Keep me carefully in a jar till I grow big, then put me into a tank, which you will make for the purpose: and at length throw me into the sea." The fish grew to a good size, and said one day to Manu: "In such and such a year the Flood will come; build a ship, and turn to me in spirit: when the waters rise, get into the ship, and I will save you." Manu did exactly as he was bid; and when he was in the ship the fish came swimming towards him, whereupon he fastened a rope to it, and the fish set off across the northern mountain. "You had better lash your ship to a tree," the fish said, "for fear you should be carried away, although you are on the mountain, and when the water subsides you can let yourself gradually down." This is the reason why the northern mountain is called "the slope of Manu." The Flood destroyed all flesh, Manu alone survived. He offered up sacrifice, consisting of an invocation of the All and a prayer for his blessing, whereupon a woman, bringing him the blessing out of the sacrificial oil, rose up, and thus addressed him: "He who begat me, his am I; I am the blessing thou hast desired." She was the mother, by Manu, of his race, who still survive; and whatever blessing he desired with her, that he obtained. *Idâ* or *Iâ* is the name of woman, the original meaning of which is "thanksgiving," though it afterwards signified "earth," and is the ordinary name of Manu's daughter.

The fish who saved Manu in the Brâhman tradition of course is Vishnu; the Purâna, also, which tells the same story with some variations, expressly mentions him.¹⁰⁸ In the epos¹⁰⁹, the Ganges, around which the

¹⁰⁸ Sir W. Jones, On the Chronology of the Hindûs, Works, i. p. 288. seq.

¹⁰⁹ Mahabaratæ Diluvium, ed. Bopp.

Arians did not settle till a later period, is already mentioned; but it too makes Manu escape from the Flood on to the Himavat (Imaus, Himalaya), on the top of which he is saved, and where the human beings, the germ of which he had brought with him in the ship, took root. Had the tradition been mentioned in the Vedas, it would have been in another shape, for the doctrine of Vishnu as the God of Preservation did not then exist. Vishnu is there merely the name of the sun, as being the star of the rolling day and year.

The first movement of mankind, therefore, came from the mountains of the north. This, however, is not to be confounded with the historical migration of the Arians to India, which manifestly was from the westward, through Kabul (the Bolan Pass), and by Kandahar (the Kyber Pass); two conquests and settlements, which as we have seen, preceded the passage of the Indus.¹¹⁰

According to Max Müller, to whose recently published great work on the Vedas, an epoch in Indian literature, we beg to refer as to Indian criticism, there are allusions to the same tradition in hymns of the Rig-veda, a direct proof of the Iranian origin of these reminiscences. In the Brahmanic period these reminiscences become legendary, but they are not loose fictions and allegories. We must not, therefore, evade the labour of searching after the historical element in the traditions respecting the later period, with a view to the solution of our own problem.

Thus far this tradition of the earliest times is essentially historical. But even in the ideal portion there is evidently much which is common Arian property. We find the kosmic egg in the Indian version. According to Manu, Brahma created out of himself the waters which contained a germ or seed. From him came an egg, in which he, as the first ancestor of all the

¹¹⁰ See the preceding chapter, and Lassen, i. 818.

worlds¹¹¹, was himself born. There are also probably allusions to it in the Vedas: but neither the Brahmins nor the more ancient minstrels of the Indus country laid the egg.

B.

HELLENIC REMINISCENCES OF THE FLOOD, AND THE TRADITIONS AND FICTIONS IN HESIOD ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD, THE RULE OF THE GODS, AND THE KOSMIC AGES.

THE Egyptians, having emigrated before the catastrophe which overwhelmed Northern Asia, had no knowledge of any great interruption of human life in the primeval land. It is clear, therefore, that what the Greeks knew of it cannot have come from Egypt.

Our previous researches will not permit us to doubt that the oldest Hellenic tradition about the flood of Deukalion was a legendary reminiscence of that great historical deluge. It was neither an originally ideal myth, nor the offshoot of some event in the history of the Thracian Greeks. The coins of Apamea with the ark on them, of the genuineness of which there is no question, and the stories about Annakos, king of Iconium, who foretold the deluge, prove the Noachian story to have been in circulation not only in Syria but Asia Minor. In the latter also we have the oldest Olympus and Parnassus, on which the Thessalian legend of Deukalion makes the ark to rest, after being tossed about for nine days. The Mysian Olympus is the highest peak in Western Asia, as Parnassus is the most considerable mountain in Thessaly. Deukalion, son of Prometheus, king of Phthia, following his father's advice, built the ark, when Jupiter had resolved to destroy the human race.

¹¹¹ Lassen, i. 622. note.

After leaving the ship he offered up sacrifice with his wife Pyrrha (the red, like Adam), and became the ancestor of the new race, and that an agricultural race. By command of the oracle, they threw behind them "the bones of the earth," or stones; that is, Deukalion cultivated the land in the valleys to which he descended.

A legend of a precisely similar kind was connected in Asia Minor with the deluge of Iconium, and was localised at Olympus, as it had been, at an earlier date, on the mountains of Upper Asia more to the eastward. The common source of both traditions, those of Asia Minor and of Thessaly, was Phrygia, the early abode of the Hellenic race. Its essential agreement with the Noachian tradition is too palpable to escape our notice; they both represented the flood as universal. But I think their origin was Arian or rather primeval, and not Semitic. We know from India that it was also current in Eastern Asia. This is another reason why any attempt to find a Semitic etymology for the name of Deukalion is wholly inadmissible.

We cannot show any direct connexion in this reminiscence and the change of the scene of that early event, with the story in the *Timæus* which was said to come from Egypt. Though this myth, which Plato has put into the mouth of Sokrates, has nothing Egyptian about it, I think it proves that he considered the foundation—these legends of Deukalion and Ogyges—to have been a more ancient and more general event, which he believed to be historical; thereby furnishing another instance of his wonderful insight into the great turning-points of history.

Now, it is as unnecessary to offer further evidence of its being historical, as it is that the local stories about Thessaly and Asia Minor are unhistorical.

The case is very different as regards the extant Hellenic traditions about the ages of the world. As in the

one the basis is historical, so in the other it is essentially ideal. In one we have a primitive tradition of the early inhabitants of Central Asia, jumbled together with mythic ideas about creation, and with the early history of the particular race in its last abode. In the other, we have a work of fiction, embodying the views of a pensive philosophy, cheerless as regards the present, but yet not altogether without hope that a better time would come, when the vices and sins of the past would be expiated.

Such is the general character of Hesiod's poetry, out of which the evil and obscure period of the ninth century before our era peers out upon us.

We can, however, distinguish, even in it, an older and a later portion.

Buttmann, in his able treatise¹¹² upon the myth of the earliest races, has shown that Hesiod's men (*Works and Days*, v. 109—201.) are a travesty and extension of an earlier tradition. The Gold and Silver Ages are in direct contrast to each other: they differ as good and evil, their men are righteous and impious respectively. The Brazen Race is the necessary consequence of the Silver: in the excess of its pride it destroys itself by acts of violence. The Fourth Age, not distinguished by the name of any metal, is the race of heroes whose spirits inhabit the islands of the Blest. The Fifth again forms part of the metallic series as the Iron Age, an age of pain and disgrace, in which to his great grief the poet's own lot was cast. Buttmann thinks the Fourth Age a later interpolation into the older tradition. There is, however, much to be said on

¹¹² Lecture in the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin in 1814; *Treatises* of 1814, p. 141. seqq. Of later writers on this subject Preller is the most important: see his second essay, entitled "The Representations of the Classics, the Greeks especially, on the Origin and oldest Destinies of the Human Race;" *Philologus*, vol. vii. pp. 1—60.

the other side. The heroic age can never be the immediate result of the preceding one: How did the heroes get there? How is the supposed break to be accounted for?

My own idea is that Hesiod's poem contains two old traditions, jumbled together by him in a confused manner, the whole concluding with a fiction of his own, or some earlier but strictly Hellenic tradition which he appropriated.

The following is a sketch of our solution of the problem.

The first three Ages would seem to represent three epochs of the antediluvian world, according to early Hellenic notions. These three gradations are designated as Gold, Silver, and Brass. Iron, which is not found at the surface as is frequently the case with copper, is a modern metal, as all the remains and traditions testify, and so Hesiod describes it. The real tradition terminated with the Brass. Apollodorus tells us, indeed, that the Brazen Race perished in the flood of Deukalion. Here, then, we have the connexion between the legend about the deluge and the ages of the world.

After its own pride and overbearing violence had destroyed it, there sprang up in the new world the founders of a civilised life. The scions of this heroic age are the heroes of the Trojan war, a race favoured by the Gods, although by no means comparable in point of strength with the mighty men of the early world, as Homer says. Next to them comes the age of ordinary men, modern historical times. It, again, is threatened with dissolution on account of its vices. Jupiter resolves to extirpate it, and found a new kingdom of righteousness.

The vast distinction between the three earliest ages of man and the two of the modern world is evinced also by the circumstance of Aratus concluding his account with the third age. His authorities must,

therefore, have given this portion as an independent tradition. Hesiod found the heroes in his own fore-time; and the interval between his day and the period there described was so great, that he might well represent the time in which he wrote once more as a last age. Worse it could not be; in fact it got better, especially for the Greeks.

Hence we obtain the following sketch of history as it appeared in the earliest times and again in the days of Hesiod.

A. *The Tradition of the early World (ideal, and at the same time historical).*

I. Divine commencement of the human race (Golden Age).

II. Prevalence of vice, depravity of man (Silver Age).

III. Dissolution of the impious race (Brazen Age). The flood of Deukalion and destruction of mankind.

B. *The Post-diluvian Race.*

I. After Deukalion and Pyrrha were saved in the ship, and had begotten a new agricultural race, the sons of the Gods, the heroes, established order, civilisation, and the fear of God, and opposed vice throughout the world. The close of their rule was the great war of Troy. This legend originated in Asia Minor: but its background is Pelasgo-Phrygian life.

II. After the conclusion of the Trojan war, a new race commences; this is the melancholy age in which the poet lived. Kings govern badly, law is administered by favour. Gold can do anything, nothing is so fatal as to be an honest man. Better either not to live at all, or at a later period. The decree of the omnipotent Zeus has gone forth that the impious race shall be destroyed.

This was the ninth century B.C. Their hopes are realised in the eighth by means of the reforms of Lycurgus, and the grand elevation of the Hellenic commonalty from the beginning of the Olympiads to the time of Solon. The princely houses became extinct, and the haughty race of nobles either died out or merged into private citizens.

C.

THE BASIS OF HELLENIC MYTHOLOGY, AS WELL AS LANGUAGE, IS NOT SEMITIC BUT ARIAN. — THE SEMITIC ELEMENT IS THE MOST MODERN STRATUM, AND IT WAS INTRODUCED THROUGH THE PELASGI.

THERE is no immediate connexion between the language of Greece and either the Egyptian or Phœnician. Its written character is also wholly independent of the Egyptian, but it is borrowed, like that of all other Arian nations, from the Phœnicians, who invented or completed the Semitic alphabet.

As to the Egyptian language it is the noblest and oldest African deposit of a tongue which was once common in the earliest times to the western and eastern people of Central Asia, and then became polarised with remarkable power, taking the form of Semitic in the west, of Arian in the east. The Hellenic tongue, therefore, as well as the Bactrian, Indian, and German, is based upon the original foundation of one common human speech, the unity of which, in its oldest form, is authentically represented to us in the Egyptian. Of this original root the Greeks had not the slightest idea. Plato alone had perhaps an inkling of there having been some very early connexion, as appears in the *Timæus*.

The nucleus of civilisation which sprang up in early

times in a Pelasgic form on the frontier of Armenia, in Phrygia, and which first enlightened mankind in Ionia and its vicinity, is pure Arian and postdiluvian. The documentary evidence of a community of life as exhibited in the words used to express the domestic relations, the rearing of cattle and tilling of land, to which the Hellenic language as well as that of the Germans bears testimony, brings us only back to the period when Semites and Arians were already divided, in consequence of the migrations long after the great catastrophe in the primeval country. When the Hellenic races emigrated into Europe, some by way of Thrace, some by sea, all recollection of a previous existence in the highlands of Asia ceased; the meaning of a few myths and obscure reminiscences was soon forgotten. Nor is the Pelasgic element Semitic. The Hellene received through the Pelasgi some Asiatic traditions about the Gods, who had become heroes in his eyes, and symbolical myths and ceremonies to which he had given new life and which he clothed in an intellectual form before the days of Homer. These traditions are certainly Semitic, and indeed Phœnician, but of a recent date.

The relation between Hellas and Egypt may in truth be said to be precisely analogous, in respect to their linguistic as well as religious consciousness. The origin of all their ideas about Gods of nature was Arian. The name of Zeus, as signifying ether, is connected with the Bactrian Deva. This connexion forms an essential part of those indelible traces of the early association of the Arian races in Northern Asia and Bactria, which has been treated of in another place.¹¹³ But Dionysos and Herakles are Greek words as well as Greek personages. The entire phantasmagoria of Hellenic mythology, the prelude to their subsequent poetry and philosophy, is in

¹¹³ Outlines, Part I. Conf. Kuhn's admirable treatise, a Programme, published in 1845, in Weber's Indian Studies (ii. 321. seqq.).

so far the work of the independent genius of that remarkable people. Here again the roots are old Asiatic, with some inkling of Phœnician. The tree itself, however, its offshoots and its boughs, are Hellenic. This development and application of kosmogonical ideas to human subjects is by far the noblest and most important effort in that department: in the first place, as regards their faith and worship itself; secondly, as regards the enduring value of the beauty and grace of their poetry; and lastly, as regards its philosophical importance. The Greeks received a degenerate worship of nature, out of which they formed symbols of the Spirit. What was transmitted to them in customs and myths were symbols of stars and of courses of the sun and changes of the moon; they adopted the symbols, but made them subservient to genius by perfecting the idea of human personality which had been incompletely realised. God became in their conception Man, as the finite, conscious Spirit. As Hegel has grandly expressed it, the solution of the riddle of the Sphinx is Man. Of Pindar's two questions, What is Man? What is God? Hellenic genius answers the first, and by the creation of the ideal of the humanity paved the way to the answer of the second.

But when we contemplate the commencements of this entire formation we find the case very different as to the connexion between Greek and Asiatic mythology. From the moment we know the names of the Egyptian Gods, and what they were, the question as to any Egyptian influence is set at rest for ever. It was from the first an unfortunate assumption, although a tempting one. The Egyptians themselves never came into Europe at all, except in some raid for purposes of plunder and war. The Greeks, therefore, must have gone to Egypt for their Gods, and they are of too modern a date for that. But tradition speaks of colonists from Egypt, as well as Phœnicia. It is im-

possible to point out anything that is strictly Egyptian; and all Rôth's quotations from the classics, in support of his assertion that the Hellenic Gods were derived from Egypt, apply solely to the time after Alexander, who declared himself Jupiter Ammon, and to still later superstitions; or else they are simply a misunderstanding, and a confusion between their real dogmas and a philosophy of religion then coming into vogue. Pindar, the learned theologian, might write a hymn to Jupiter Ammon as a foreign God, because his ideas embraced the whole human race. But this very hymn, of the purport of which we have only recently learned the details from a fragment preserved by Hippolytus, says absolutely nothing at all about the religious ideas of the Greeks being derived from the Egyptians.

All the facts tend to the conclusion that the roots of the Egyptian Pantheon are in Asia, and that all those portions of the Hellenic myths about Gods and Heroes which are of foreign origin, and borrowed from extraneous sources, are Asiatic and not Egyptian, Semitic and not Khamitic. Those vast hordes of Southern Palestinians who were driven out of Lower Egypt about the middle of the sixteenth century B.C., the real Pelasgi (in Semitic, Peleshet, i. e. wandering, roving races = Palestinians), struck the first blow by overpowering and expelling the Arian populations in the islands of the Mediterranean, who were nearly related to the Greeks (as the Scandinavians were to the Germans). This occurred especially in Krete (Kaphthor, the Philistines were called Kreti) and in Cyprus, the inhabitants of which were called Kittim, who must not be confounded with the 'Hittim, i. e. Khiteans, the Khêta of the Egyptians. It is not impossible even that this raid upon the islands may have been owing to a similar onward movement of the Semites, although it has not been historically recorded as such, occasioned by the same internal con-

vulsion in the time of Abraham which drove the old sons of Edom into Phrygia. At all events these Semitic influences were at work during the period of national history. The direct agents in it were the kindred races of the Hellenes, who were expelled from the Palestinian islands, and who were for that reason improperly called Pelasgi (as the English, i. e. Angles, were called Britons). They were the only channels through which the old myths and secret customs of the Semitic could be communicated to the Ionians, or perhaps even at a later period through the medium of the Phœnicians.

In the preceding volume fresh arguments have been adduced in confirmation of Niebuhr's views about the Ionians in Ionia prior to its being colonised from Attica, which Curtius has so ingeniously elucidated in his last work. We have shown that these old Ionians, at a very early date, trod in the footsteps of the Phœnicians in their commercial transactions. But they can hardly have been established in Egypt itself before the beginning of the eighth century, a little prior to the time of Zet.

The tradition about the influence of Egypt is therefore thoroughly explainable upon the principle repeatedly contended for in this work. The waves of that great movement of nations who within the historic age were driven towards the islands of the Mediterranean by several streams of Semitic tribes, rolling back from Lower Egypt, broke also upon the shores of Hellas. But this cannot well have been otherwise than indirectly. As the Pelasgi were the channel of communication to the Ionians of Asia Minor who lived among them, so were the Ionians to the inhabitants of Hellas. But, we repeat again, that we understand by the Pelasgi only those early Greek races inaccurately so called, whose language and civilisation were the prototypes of Hellenism, and indeed of Ionianism. Although this Arian race,

which was compelled by the Semites, who were driven out of Egypt in the sixteenth century (if not out of Southern Palestine in the twenty-eighth), to emigrate to Krete and other islands of the Ægean, must have adopted there many Semitic customs and traditions: still they must have brought with them many of the habits of their old Phrygian home. Considerable direct influence may also have been exercised by the medium of Phœnician merchants. But the most important as well as the most recent influence of all upon European Greece must have been exercised by the old Ionians. Secret symbols and sacred customs preserved the foreign element in isolated myths and forms of worship. To these more especially belong the story of Kadmos, and the worship of the Kabiri of Samothrace.

It is impossible to read the beautiful myth of Kadmos and Harmonia with her star-bespangled robe, their marriage and reign, without recognizing the kosmogonical basis of this apparently Hero-myth.

But, from what we have seen above, the case is the same with Kadmilos-Kadmon-El, as well as with Melikertes-Melkarth. Not only are the names the same, and the Greek designation is explainable only on physical grounds from the Phœnician, but even the very substance is Phœnician.

The seven Kabiri were Phœnician, and so were their names. Their worship in its earliest form was carried from Phœnicia to Egypt, as it afterwards was to the Greek Ionian islands, although it approached already nearer to the Hellenic through the Pelasgi. The fragment of Pindar in Hippolytus even mentions the Kabiri and mysterious ceremonies.

This would seem the proper place to authenticate what has been said in an earlier page (230.) about the Hellenic explanation of the two most singular and obscure traditions as to the names and ceremonies of

the Samothracian Kabiri and the Phrygian Korybantes.

The first thing will be to test the explanation, attributed by the scholiast of Apollonius to Mnaseas the Alexandrian scholar, of the three Samothracian names of the Kabiri:

Axieros — Axiokerse — Axiokersos,
which he is said to have interpreted as

Demeter — Persephone — Aïdes.

The syllable *Axi* or *Axie*¹¹⁴ which is found in all three cannot be anything but the Greek word *Axios*, which was used in the worship of Dionysos at Elis, in the sense of "worthy, honourable," as a liturgical invocation: *Axie taure!* worthy bull! I think, therefore, the names are to be explained as invocations:

Worthy Lord — Worthy Horned (Goddess) — Worthy Horned (God¹¹⁵).

The first name cannot possibly be rightly interpreted, because the word is evidently masculine. From the sense and the order they must represent

Zeus — Demeter — Dionysos.

The confusion in the original statement of Mnaseas may be explained in this way. "Demeter *or* Persephone" was written by the side of the second name: the disjunctive particle was left out in copying, and it seemed as if Zeus were a name more than was required. Zeus and Dionysos were mentioned by another scholiast upon the passage as the two male Kabiri, the former

¹¹⁴ Prayer in the worship of Dionysos at Elis, preserved by Plutarch (Qu. Gr., Preller, i. 432.), ending with: "Ἀξιε ταῦρε, ἄξιε ταῦρε."

¹¹⁵ Ἡρως corresponds to Ἡρα, our "Lord," "Lady. Κέραμος, according to the lexicographers, comes from κέρας, and means "ox-horn." This agrees with our explanation of Kerse and Kersos. The formation is quite regular: the root of κέρας is *ker*, strengthened by the addition of *n* in *cornu*, "horn," and Hebrew *qéren*.

the elder, the latter the younger, of the two.¹¹⁶ The wanderings of Demeter are like those of the horned Io: and so Herë, also, is called the Cow-eyed.

In the Phœnician kosmogonies the connexion between the highest God and a subordinate male and female demiurgic principle is of frequent occurrence.

The singular myth of the two brothers who slay the third can also only be explained from the Phœnico-Egyptian. They are called the Winter Sun and the hot Sirios-Sun, the blaze of the Dog-star. The oracle of Apollo Clarius calls the Autumnal Sun-God (the sacrificed) Adonis; the Winter God, Aides; the Summer Sun-God, Helios; and the fourth, Zeus, the God of Spring. This is a Greek addition, and comparatively modern. The two murderers of Adonis-Dionysos must be the two enemies of the prosperity of the earth created by Dionysos. In the Egyptian myths the Sirios-Sun is the hostile element, but in Phœnicia it is in winter that Adonis dies.

We must not forget, however, that these two myths were current in a special and clearly defined circle. There is no similarity in the name and myth of Apollo with the Phœnician, although even this genuine Pelasgo-Hellenic God, Apollo, possesses not only astral but kosmogonical attributes, as is manifest from the singular myth about the atonement for the murder of Python.

Finally these roots go back to the kosmic egg, the early Babylonian, and afterwards the Egyptian, symbol of the first creative act of the Deity on chaotic matter. Aristophanes the comedian has given such positive testimony upon this head, that we may rely upon what the Orphic oracle said about it.

¹¹⁶ Lobeck, 1229.

¹¹⁷ See above, p. 193. note.

D.

THE HELLENIC MYTHS ARE NOT DERIVED FROM VEDIC,
STILL LESS FROM BRAHMINICAL, MYTHS: THE COMMON
ELEMENT IS THE ORIGINAL POETRY OF LANGUAGE.

THE Hellenic origines have no connexion with Egypt; but the language and religion of both countries have a common foundation in that primitive Asia of which Egypt is the second deposit, China the first. The facts of comparative philology give sufficient evidence of an original connexion between the roots of the Semitic, Arian, and Turanian languages, converging in Chinese. But so do the traditions on the beginnings of mankind. The world having been produced by the male and female principle, the heavenly and the earthly, the kosmic egg formed itself, and primitive man came out of it. That is the Chinese tradition. The historical Semitic element was introduced into European Greece, partly through the direct agency of the Phœnicians, partly through the Asiatic Pelasgi and the Ionians, who were Pelasgi hellenised in Asia Minor. But this communication took place in the historic age; what is common to both are the elements which the Hellenic tribes brought out of primitive Asia into Asia Minor and into Thrace.

The question, which has only recently been discussed with sound judgment and scholarship, is this: Was there any connexion, and if so to what extent, between the Hellenic and Italic origines and the Arian races in Asia, beyond that of language? If such there were, it was certainly the latter: for the community of social habits, which also existed between the Germanic, Slavonic, and Keltic races and the Arian, is really just as undoubtedly historical, although it does not go to the same extent.

This perhaps may be the right moment for stating that all previous attempts at deriving the Hellenic or Italic Gods or heroes from India are from beginning to end a pure fallacy. All that they have in common must be Bactrian: the only possible similarity with the Indian element must arise from its having preserved the old Bactrian. The Brahmanical Gods, however, are not Vedic, but a later separate formation, so that they can have nothing to do with the question about Arian influences. The ruling Gods of that period, from Brahma to Siva, are without exception modern even in India, and not mentioned in the old Vedic hymns. The Vedic names of the Gods and heroes only would remain, and of these next to nothing was known in the first quarter of this century. The suggestions therefore of Görres and Kanne at once fall to the ground, as well as Bohlen's rude attempt to explain Semitic names by Sanskrit roots. Such was the result of the over-anxiety of philosophic inquirers, in their eagerness to discover truth without knowing the Vedas. It was Colebrooke who opened up the subject in the eighth volume of the "Asiatic Researches," and a portion even of the text of the Rig-veda was published by Rosen in 1830, which Creuzer made use of in 1833. The publication of Roth's lectures in 1846, which had been delivered the previous year, was a great step in advance. Of Wilson's translation of the Rig-veda, which goes hand-in-hand with Müller's edition of the text, we have now three books before us (1850 to 1857). Müller's general introduction to Vedic literature destroys many dreams, but Leo's romance about the affinity between the oldest Germanic Gods and Siva had never the slightest historical foundation.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ See Charles von Noorden, *Symbolæ ad comparandam Mythologiam Vedicam cum Mythologia Germanica*. Bonn, 1855.

The origin of Dionysos is no more Bactrian or Indian, than his mysteries and those of Demeter or Mother-Earth. Dyaus is the same word in Vedic as Zeus, and has the same signification (æther), but Diespiter did not come to the Romans in this composite form, although its two component parts are primitive Arian.

There is no formation in nature or history which can be accounted for by two causes, different in kind and distinct from each other. If, as is the case, Greek philosophy from Thales and Pythagoras downwards can be explained by local and personal, by internal and external Hellenic causes, it is unscientific either to seek for or invent Bactrian, or Indian, or even Egyptian origins for them. But such is the case with all mythologies, when we get beyond the worship of pure physical phenomena. The community of social life among the Arians before the separation, and especially before the emigration of the historically individualised Hellenes and Germans to Asia Minor and Europe, ceased at a point of religious consciousness when the only objects of worship were personifications of great natural phenomena, such as light, fire, ether, clouds, and storms, as being Divine forces. At that time there could no more have been a Dionysos, than a Prometheus or a Theseus; a Sigurd, a hero; or a Baldur as a son of the Gods. And yet it can be shown that there is a common origin for them all in Old Bactrian. This is the point which we have to discuss.

Here, again, a distinction must be drawn between the different stages, of which there were three. The first two, the most remote stages, are purely linguistic germs of mythology: the third is in the domain of mythopœia, or myth-building.

Organic language, as shown in the remarks made at the opening of this Book, is in itself a foretype of mythology. The coining of a word into a noun must from its nature be considered as the act implying a personal God: and the expression of the copula connecting

subject and predicate, the formation of the verb-substantive especially, is an unconscious assertion of the existence of God. This is the first stage. The second stage is already a step in advance, as containing the direct germ of historical myths. The transference of words implying properties to a person, and that an intellectual one, is mythology. A noun of an intellectual kind, such as the Lightning, or the Thundering, is a mythological act in the garb of language. It becomes performed in language before religious consciousness takes an independent form. This preparation for mythology by language goes much deeper than has hitherto been supposed. It is very concrete, and the coinage of it just as historically authenticated as that of the personal deities: but yet it is never anything more than a strictly linguistico-poetical act. It has not arrived at the stage of separate religious consciousness. It is not yet a fullgrown myth, in the garb of history.

This is the last mythopœic act, the palpable physical myth. The expressions of the "rising" of the sun, of its "setting" through the night, of its "dispelling" the ruddy morn, of lightning rending the rain-clouds, may have been current before the separation of Bactrian, Hellenic, and Germanic tribes, as primitive Arian poetry. The only question is, whether this is actually the case, and how we are able to prove it. And here we have an inquiry, as novel as it is promising, in Max Müller's spirited Oxford Essay on Comparative Mythology.¹¹⁹

The author shows that the first germs of the celebrated story about King Purûravas and his divine spouse Urvasî is merely the Grecian myth of Eos and Tithonos; and that the Vedic story of Dahana (the dawn of day), who, according to the Rig-veda¹²⁰, "comes to the sun and expires as soon as he begins to breathe," is the same

¹¹⁹ April 1856, p. 1—87. "Comparative Mythology."

¹²⁰ Oxford Essay, p. 57. The passage in the Rig-veda is x. 189.

as that of Daphne who is pursued by Apollo (the sun) and perishes. Here we should have the type of language developed into Greek legend. The name becomes the designation of the laurel, which it previously was not, and could not have been. *Urasî* would be, originally, an epithet of *Usas* = *Eos*, *Aurora*, in the sense of "the widely extending herself;" and *Purûravas* would be *Polydeukes*, i.e. "the far-shining." Here Indian poetry itself had already converted the natural type of language into legend and myth. Müller also throws out the suggestion, that the name of *Orpheus*, the husband of *Eurydike* (*Aurora*) who was bitten by the serpent (*night*), may be explained by the Vedic *Ribhu*, or *Arbhu*, an epithet of *Indra* and a name of the sun¹²¹; and *Eros* himself may, perhaps, originally have been merely an epithet of the sun, the *Eôan*, where the *r* is interpolated, as *Aurora* is connected with *Usas*, *Eos*. But the Sanskrit God of Love is called *Kama*, "desire;" and here, for the first time, real personality is introduced. According to Müller, in the *Vedas*, the name of the *Charites* is possibly foreshadowed by the seven sister steeds, who draw the chariot of the Sun-God. *Indra* is the "love of men," as *Eros* is always the "sun of life." But will that justify us in deriving the Three *Charites* from the Indians (i.e. *Bactrians*)? Müller does not answer the question. I think we must say unqualifiedly—No.

It is only within very strict limits that it is justifiable to make a comparison between Hellenic mythological names and history, and the Vedic or Old *Bactrian*. But with these limitations there is great truth in it. It is not the forms of the Gods, but the first glimmerings of the ideas which are the foundation of them, that exist in the consciousness of linguistic formation, and the first fable-like development; in which, however, the natural phenomenon, slightly veiled, everywhere peeps

out in the word and representation, and is obvious to those who have got the key.

This symbol is far more obscure among the Greeks. "For," as our author remarks¹²², "the Greeks knew as little about the logos (the original thought) of their myths as they did of the etymon (or true origin) of their words; but yet we cannot say that the language has no mythological element, or that etymology deals with a past which never was a present."

It is to be hoped, therefore, that when he enters into fuller details, and proves what he has only sketched out in his Essay, he will avoid the rocks on which all those who have attempted to explain the derivations of Greek deities and myths have hitherto stranded. Men of real science even, like Pott and Kuhn, who have made a comparison between the Vedic and Greek mythology, have fallen into the same error. Hermeias cannot fairly be developed out of Sarameyas, as the metronymic of a root which was wholly unknown to the Greeks; and the Demeter myth cannot be explained by Saranyu, "the primitive cloud," "the darkness of the clouds." The juxta-position is very instructive, and the transformation of Gods into horses might be borrowed from the Arian religious symbols before the separation: but there is no historical argument in it. Erinnyes may be an epithet of Demeter, and even correspond linguistically to the Vedic Saranyu, without our having a right to compare the "mother-earth" with the "dark cloud," and to make two mythical histories into one. Still less can a comparison be made between Eteokles and Satyasravas, or even Bellerophon and Vrtrahan, the Zendic Veretraghna, as Pott proposes.¹²³

¹²² p. 87.

¹²³ Kuhn, in Haupt's Zeitsch. für Althert. vi. (1848) p. 117. seqq. Ibid., in his Zeitsch. für vergleichende Sprachkunde, i. (1852) p. 439. seqq., iv. p. 260. Roth, in the Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellsch. iv. 417—433. Pott, *ibid.* p. 416.

Kuhn felt the want of a method, and attempted a philosophy of these derivations¹²⁴, which does not, however, appear to me to solve the problem. He says the coincidence between the Indian and Grecian myths extends beyond the mere similarity of form between a natural phenomenon and a Divine Being, it exhibits in the conception the same peculiarities, and sometimes similar development of legend, as in Sarameyas and Hermeias; and such coincidences cannot be explained by the general agreement of mankind on the main features of all natural religion. But here, in my estimation, an important — indeed, a paramount — link is overlooked, namely, the existence of those first two stages, and the development of the mythological germ contained in the second into a strictly symbolical story, corresponding with many of our popular riddles and fables. The connexion between these riddles and kosmogonical ideas and the demiurgos (Tvastar, “sculptor,” as Savitar or creator of the world) is, though perhaps equally ancient, still Bactro-Indian philosophy. We have no more right to smuggle this philosophy into Greek mythology under the cloak of those Old-Arian fables, than we have to foist the later Neo-Platonic dicta into the Old-Phœnician myths, even though the foundations of them both may be like in kind.

These remarks are not made with any intention of depreciating these ingenious and meritorious scholars, but simply of directing the attention of students to the fact, that the ancient history of man cannot be restored without a more perfect method of positive philosophy of the mind. We have much extended the sphere of comparing the phenomena of language and religion, but our philosophy has remained stagnant, and the want of all philosophical method is equally deplorable.

¹²⁴ In his *Zeitsch.* i. 439.

Now I candidly confess I am not aware of any one single circumstance which justifies us in assuming that there is any connexion between the mythus of any one Grecian God, viewed in a personal light, as husband, father, brother, hero, and still less any single Hellenic hero, with any Vedic or Bactrian one of the same name. I believe that all the ingenuity and scholarship which have been expended in attempting to prove this are thrown away. Still, no reasonable person will on that account compare such researches with the attempt to find etymologies for Greek deities in the Brahmanic, or with the earlier derivations from Semitic or Keltic roots. Still less can we place such researches, which are in themselves justifiable on the grounds of language and history, upon a par with such shallow and frivolous assertions as that of German mythology being derived from Siva, or of the influence of Buddhism on Christianity. A few moral precepts of Buddha prove nothing as to Christ having lived under Buddhistic influence, any more than a similarity in monastic institutions and forms of prayer justifies the assumption that Christian monasticism is connected with Buddhism.

While therefore I consider all idea of there being an historical connexion between India and the Hellenic myths of Gods and heroes as highly questionable from a philosophical point of view, and wholly destitute of historical proof, that result of our German inquiries which remains unshaken appears to me of the highest import to the history of man.

The intimate similarity of customs among the Arian races is perfectly demonstrable, on the ground of both mythology and language. In other words, with the single exception of the Semites, who were limited to a small portion of the earth, and whose connexion with the Arians belongs to the most remote primeval history, all the civilised and leading races of the world have a common basis for their mythology. This community of

origin is evinced, not only in the conception and designation of the primitive relations of social life, and in matters belonging to the tending of cattle and agriculture, but also in the idea of the connexion between man and God in nature and mankind. We possess such evidence in regard to these relations among the Bactrians, Greeks, and the Italic nations, and that in all the three stages: first, in the poetry of the formation of their nouns; secondly, in their notions of the natural phenomena being eternal forces; and thirdly, in the symbolical connexion between these phenomena according to their causal relation with an apparently human history.

Meyer, in his Oxford Paper of 1845, pointed out that there are proofs of this also in the case of the Kelts, who evidently were the first to separate from the common stock; and we may shortly expect, from the same master-hand, a further confirmation of it out of the rich store of his Kymric researches. If there be not so much proof in reference to the third stage, on behalf of the Slavonic tribes, it must be remembered that research in this department is in its infancy, and that Slavonic literature was of late growth. The Slavonics must have possessed what the Kelts possessed, as well as the Germans, whose language proves that they separated from the Arians at a much later period. They, the Greeks of the North, from their active intellectual turn of mind, evidently threw aside at a very early period the veils and fables, except such as had become fixed by religious ceremonies, because they appeared to them barbaric stuff. But the legend about the Flood remained in the shape of Deukalion's legend; and the Lithuanians have a tradition that they are derived from stones which the first pair threw behind them after the deluge.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Hanusch, *Slavic Mythus*, p. 235. Kuhn's *Zeitsch.* ii. p. 429. with Pott's Notes.

That even the Turanian has many reminiscences about the origines, is proved by the Kalewala, that wonderful Finnish epos, which, as wonderfully, has in our days been committed to paper from the mouths of poor people unable to read. Again, the legend of Prometheus is met with in the Caucasus¹²⁶, seemingly also among its Turanian tribes, and not merely among the Iranian Ossetæ.

At all events, therefore, we have roots which point to the common habits of the Japhetites before the Iranians and Turanians separated.

Finally, we have seen that the language, as well as mythology, of Egypt contains abundant traces of the earliest Asiatic religious conceptions, at a date when the primitive Semites and primitive Arians lived together before the great dispersion.

As regards the philosophical explanation of the remarkable phenomenon here alluded to, the tendency to naturalism in Arian religion and its preceding stage of language and poetry, we must, in the first place, bear in mind that every sentiment of spiritualism in nature is nothing but the reflex of human feelings and relations. Man does not learn to love and to hate from nature; he lends these passions to nature out of his own life, just as much as he imparts to her the relations of husband and wife, of father, mother, and child, brother and sister. All this belongs to the purely anthropological or subjective side of religion. It must not be forgotten, however, that there certainly are hostile antagonisms in nature, and that the chemical term, elective affinity, indicates the existence of an analogon of affection in nature.

But it is even more important to have a clear idea of the proper bearing of what is called in common parlance nature-worship and physical myth. It is as irrational

¹²⁶ See Outlines, vol. ii. p. 27. note.

as it is unhistorical, to assume that a poetical and enigmatical conception of the sun and moon, of rain and winter, was the starting-point of any religious worship. On the contrary, the poetical phenomenology of nature, which we find as the first stratum in the basis of our mythologies, can be nothing but a symbol of the fundamental idea of all religion — God-consciousness, faith in a moral government of the world, tending to the improvement and salvation of man. The apparent solution of the enigma lies in the natural phenomenon; but the real one is the fact that the mind does not understand the phenomenon itself otherwise than as the symbol of that which it contains, namely, the religious sentiment. We may upon this head refer our readers to what has been said in the introductory discussions of this Book, and elsewhere. The development of myths can no more be explained by the natural phenomena to which life is subject, than the formation of language can by the cries of animals around us, or the sounds of the wind.

Here, however, it will not be enough to prove what was there intimated as an idea: we are now entitled to announce it as actual fact. Bearing in mind those vast convulsions of nature which caused a violent disturbance and interruption of a social development of man, already considerably advanced in primitive Asia, we may hope, after what has been said, that the following formula expresses in a manner strictly historical the consciousness of the Arian races which emigrated from their original home, after a convulsion, into modern Iran:

The moral and natural government of the world is henceforth to be uninterruptedly continued. So long as man does not offend the beneficent Deity by wickedness, the order of social life will hereafter not be disturbed, either in the family or the

cottage, in the village or the tribe, any more than tempest, and rain, and cold will again destroy the blessing of the seasons, the gift of the serene God of Light, who has victoriously emerged from storms and earthquakes and upheavings of mountains.

This is the thought on which all the religious feelings of the Arians are based: and this thought is analogous to the symbol of the rainbow after the Flood, appearing on the vault of heaven, which had again become serene, that beautiful picture of Semitic tradition. We find it at the bottom of the Edda as well as of the hymns of the Veda. But in several passages of these hymns it is explicitly stated. We cannot here enter into detailed exemplifications, but we would quote a single passage from the close of the celebrated thirty-second hymn in the first book, where the victory of Indra over the dragon Ahi or Vrtra (winter) is celebrated:¹²⁷

“Indra, Lord of the free and of the fettered,
Of the abundance of horned cattle, wielder of the thunderbolt!
He is Lord indeed, a King of mankind:
As the tire the spokes, so doth he encircle all.”

Hence the victory of the light warm ether over darkness and cold is the celestial and terrestrial image of the successful conflict between the good redeeming spirit and the evil principle, which man finds in and around him. It is a conflict, but a divine one, and one which leads to victory.

This is the sense in which Creuzer, many years ago, understood the Song of Visvâmitra to Helios (the Sun-God)¹²⁸, which Rosen had then published:

¹²⁷ Von Noorden, *Symbolæ*, &c. p. 84. seqq. Conf. Kuhn, in *Haupt's Zeitschr.* (See note 123.)

¹²⁸ *Symbolik*, &c. p. 519.

“Helios, who penetrateth and surveyeth all things,
Be he our Rock!
This glorious light of the beaming Helios let us contemplate,
Which may guide our minds.”

Our venerable friend, now departed, then compared the Orphic view (Hymn VIII. 16.), in which Helios is called “the teacher of righteousness;” and the whole cast of thought among the ancients in respect to law and government, regarded as light and day (Cic. De Legg. i. 7. seqq.).

But we will proceed to consider the historical development of these views.

When the natural symbol eclipsed the ethical idea, and when the noble intellect of the Arians of Bactria threatened to degenerate into nature-worship and magic, “the divine bard” of Bactria sang of the highest of spirits, and a contest ensued, in process of which most of the old Gods of nature became evil demons in Iran. In India, on the contrary, nature-worship continued for a long time to develop itself in all its vigour, but subsequently took the form of Brahmanism, and, by means of Brahma, established the intellectual element, to the neglect of the ethical, in a pantheistic and mythical sense.

Each tribe fought the divine battle according to its own fancy. The Germanic tribes threw off sacerdotal forms, or kept them at a distance. The Pelasgi treated them at once in an intellectual manner. But the pure Hellenes struggled on to intellectual freedom, and converted the old Gods of nature into the ideals of mankind.

The great hero of German philosophy, to whom this Book is dedicated, was the first to recognise this truth. In spite of all the aberrations of German philosophy, this faith has always remained the leading thread in the development of the science of humanity, not the least of whose triumphs it has been to have combined together comparative philology and comparative mythology.

It is such a combination of philology with history and philosophy which again, in the present day, is opening up in this holy ground a fresh, rich, and lasting mine of research for the earliest history of man, the history of thought in the most gifted race, that of our own progenitors. Nowhere but in the Vedas can the first threads of this divine web still be traced; but the grandeur of that marvellous tissue of poetry and art, in the mythological development of the common forms of speech into living ideals of mankind, is still the exclusive glory of the Greeks: a grandeur which no one who is acquainted with it is able fully to express, and which is destined eternally to remodel the life of the nations, and to raise it up to the standard of humanity in art and in science.

E.

THE ATLANTIC TALE, AND ITS BEARING ON THE ASIATIC REMINISCENCES OF THE EGYPTIANS, AND ON PRIMITIVE HISTORY AFTER THE DELUGE.

IN analyzing Philo's accounts of the theogony and kosmogony of the Phœnicians, we have met with some passages about the origines of mankind. These, however, were always either theogonical ideas in disguise, or else purely local reminiscences.

The case is still worse in regard to our knowledge of the corresponding traditions of the Egyptians themselves. No mention is made in any of them of historical anthropogony, everything connected with this subject occurs among the divine origines. It is barely possible that the Egyptians should have considered themselves as autokhthones, children of the soil, and yet that there should have been no trace of this belief

either in what they say on their monuments when speaking of themselves as contrasted with the other races and nations, or in what the Greeks say when treating of the origins of this, to them, so remarkable a people.

But the celebrated passage in the *Timæus* says the very reverse, and we take this opportunity of laying it before our readers in full. It has from early times given rise to the most opposite interpretations. Plato's residence in Egypt has been so fully confirmed by astronomy and his own account of the religious and political condition of the country that it is admitted to be historical¹²⁹, while the invention of later writers, that the Hellenic pupil of Sokrates learned his philosophy from the Egyptians, is generally repudiated.

The communication made to Solon by the priests of Sais, in the introduction to the *Timæus*, may fairly be considered as only the vehicle for introducing the story. Some ancient sage must be mentioned, and Solon seemed to answer the purpose as well as any other.

But in regard to the substance of the communication, it is assuredly not an invention of the philosopher, which would have been a pitiful piece of deceit, but a straightforward account of what he himself heard at Sais. It might however be mere vainglorious boasting on the part of the priests, as their assertion certainly was that they could show to Solon Athenian names of his "fellow-citizens" who lived 9000 years before that time and 1000 before the Egyptian origins. Let us hear the account itself.

The remarkable passage is as follows (p. 21. E.):

"There is in Egypt," said Solon, "in the Delta where the Nile branches off into two streams, the so-called

¹²⁹ Brandis, *Hist. of Phil.* ii. 1. seq. 141. seqq.

Saitic nome. Its principal town is Sais, the same of which King Amasis was also a native. The inhabitants consider it to have been founded by a Goddess known to the Egyptians under the name of Neith, and to the Greeks, as they assert, of Athena. They state that the Athenians and themselves were the greatest friends, and that there was some blood-relationship between them. Solon said that he was treated with the greatest respect, but that when he inquired of the best informed among the priests about the ancient times, he found that neither he nor any other Greek, so to speak, knew anything at all about these matters. Once upon a time, when he wished to draw them out into conversation about the ancient histories, he began by talking about the early history of this country, and about Phoroneus, who is called the First, and about Niobe, and after the Flood about Deukalion and Pyrrha, and the manner of their preservation. He then tried to enumerate the genealogies of their descendants, and by endeavouring to bring back to his recollection the number of years that had elapsed since those events, to calculate the chronology. Thereupon one of the oldest of the priests exclaimed: 'O Solon, Solon! you Greeks will always be children: an old Greek never existed.' Upon hearing this he replied, 'What do you mean?' 'You are all,' the other continued, 'of modern minds: for you have no faith based upon the tradition of early times, no knowledge of any kind which has grown hoary with age. And the reason of it is this. There have been many and various races of men which have fallen into decay, and there will be many more. The principal causes of these catastrophes are fire and water, some of lesser importance arising from various other circumstances. There is a fable current among you, that Phaethon, the son of Helios, once on a time drove his father's chariot, but that failing to take his father's course he set the world on fire, and perished by light-

ning. This is told rather in the form of a myth, but the truth is, that the stars which revolve round the earth in the heavens suffer a perturbation, and then, at vast intervals, whatever is on the earth perishes in the great conflagration. When these portents occur, naturally those who live on the mountains and on lofty dry spots perish in greater numbers than those who dwell about the rivers and seas. We, for instance, are preserved by the Nile, who is our preserver generally, on these occasions also, for he helps us out of our trouble. If, on the other hand, the Gods mean to ravage and destroy the earth by water, the herdsmen and shepherds who live on the mountains probably are saved, while those who live in cities are carried away by the stream into the sea. But with our country the case is different; the water does not overflow our fields, but on the contrary everything is so arranged that it rises from below. It is in this way and for these reasons, as they say, that the oldest traditions are preserved among us. The truth, however, is, that in all countries where there is not a great excess of rain or intense heat to interfere with it, there is a race of men sometimes more, sometimes less numerous. Now whatever happens among you, or among us, or in any other place that we know anything about, anything beautiful or great, or important in any other way, all is recorded in our temples from the earliest times, and so has been preserved. But scarcely had writing and the other necessities of civilised states been invented among you and elsewhere, when there came down from heaven at certain intervals a Flood, like a pestilence, sparing only the ignorant and uneducated, so that you had to start afresh from the beginning, as though you were a young people, and knew nothing as to what had occurred here or in your own country in ancient times. The genealogies of your country, O Solon, at all events, which you have just gone over are very like children's stories.

For in the first place you only record a single flood, whereas there have been a great many; and then you do not seem to know that your country was inhabited by the fairest and noblest race of men, from whom you and the whole of your present inhabitants are descended, but a very small remnant of them having survived. You have forgotten all this, because the few survivors out of the great numbers who perished left no written records behind them. For, O Solon, before that great catastrophe took place the present Athenian State was very glorious in war, and very celebrated also for the excellence of its laws. There it was that the noblest deeds were performed, and there was the most perfect constitution of all those which now exist of which we have any knowledge.'

"When Solon heard this he was astounded, as he said, and earnestly entreated the priests to tell him everything in detail and in regular order about his old countrymen. Whereupon his informant continued: 'There is no objection to this, O Solon, and I will tell it you for your own sake and for the sake of your city, but most especially for the sake of pleasing the Goddess who has taken under her protection your country and this, and has cherished and nurtured it: yours indeed, in the first instance, a thousand years before ours, she having received the germ from the Earth and from Hephaistos, and ours afterwards.

"'Now our sacred books contain a record of our institutions for 8000 years; but, as regards your countrymen 9000 years ago, I will briefly tell you about their laws and the most celebrated of their exploits. The more especial details of all these matters we will go into some other time at our leisure, when we have the records themselves before us. Consider for a moment the laws as compared with those in force here, and you will find many analogies to those which then existed in Greece. In the first place the sacerdotal caste, separated from all

the rest. Then the caste of artisans, each of which worked by itself and never mixed with the others. Then the shepherds, the hunters, and the husbandmen. The military caste again you will find distinct, upon whom the only duty imposed by law is that of making war. The art of arming with shields and spears, which was practised by us before the inhabitants of Asia, we as well as they learned from the Goddess, but first of all she taught you. Lastly, as regards knowledge, you see how much importance the law attaches to principles, seeing that everything relating to the order of social life, including divination and the art of medicine for the preservation of health, is by it provided out of these divine things, and all the other sciences which result from them are applied for the benefit of mankind. Now, the whole of these institutions and ordinances the patron Goddess first put in force among you, she having founded your state before this, and previously selected the spot on which you were born; foreseeing that the favourable nature of the climate and seasons would produce the most intelligent men. For, as she loves war as well as wisdom, she selected that spot for the foundation of a state which she knew would produce men most like herself. Under such laws as these and a yet more excellent form of government you then lived, excelling all other men in virtue, as those should excel who are descended from and fostered by the Gods. There are many great works of yours here recorded, which excite our admiration. But there is one especially which surpasses all the rest in grandeur and glory. The records state that your country once checked the advance of a mighty power, which threatened all Europe and Asia, bursting in upon them from the Atlantic ocean. For at that time the Atlantic was navigable; and beyond the straits which you in your legends call the Pillars of Hercules there was an island larger than Libya and Asia put together. Seafaring men at that time

could pass from it to the other islands, and from them to the opposite continent, which extended along that ocean properly so-called. For the sea which is inside the straits of which we have just spoken seems to have a narrow entrance, but the other is properly termed an ocean, and the land abutting on it a continent. Now on this great island in the Atlantic there was a vast and wonderful kingdom, which extended over the whole island and many other islands and parts of the continent. Besides this, it extended on our side over Libya as far as Egypt, and over Europe as far as Tyrrhenia. Now this whole united empire attempted at that time to subjugate your country and ours, and all the regions inside the straits, at one swoop. Then, O Solon, the power of your country surpassed all the rest of the world by its bravery and its strength. Outstripping them all in courage and military skill, whether as the leader of the Greeks, or where compelled to act single-handed on being deserted by the others, they were exposed to the greatest dangers, but drove back the aggressors and erected columns to commemorate their victory. They also prevented the other countries which had not been subjugated from being enthralled, and to those inside the Pillars of Hercules they gave entire freedom. But at a later period extraordinary earthquakes and floods took place, and in one fatal day and night the whole of your fighting men there collected together were swept off from the face of the earth, and at the same moment the Atlantic island sunk into the ocean. This is the reason why that sea is now inaccessible and the navigation difficult, owing to the depth of the sand which accumulated when the island disappeared.'"

Now in regard to the purport of this story, this enigma, the solution of which has occupied the attention of the first thinkers and mathematicians, of ingenious scholars and students of history in all times from Cicero

to Humboldt, I think our Egyptian researches will enable us to form a somewhat better conclusion as to certain points under discussion, on one side or the other, than has hitherto been possible.

There is nothing improbable in itself in reminiscences and records of great events in Egypt 9000 years B. C., if we consider them as even isolated recollections of a time not strictly chronological. For, as we have seen, the origines of the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt go back to the ninth millennium, or at all events there were distinct unions and a common government. There were therefore reminiscences also of great natural and historical events which affected Egypt. That here alluded to must be one of them. It is true that Egypt is not considered exactly as having been subjugated by the Atlantic conqueror, but it is said that Africa (Libya), "as far as Egypt," belonged to his kingdom. Asia is clearly the seat of this advanced empire, and the conflict extended, either by sea, or by way of Spain and Gaul, as far as Etruria.

There never was but one such conqueror, as we established when examining critically the early Hebrew times: Nimrod the Kushite, or Kossian, whose date cannot be later than the beginning of the sixth or the end of the seventh millennium B.C. It would be more natural to identify him with the conquest alluded to by the priests of Sais: for, if he was an Ethiopian, he must have passed through Egypt on his way to Asia and Europe. Now if (as we decidedly think is the original meaning of the Biblical account) he came from the land of the Kossians he was a Turanian; but the Iberians are Turanians, and may have come to Egypt from Spain across the Cyrenaica. Atlantis recalls Atlas, consequently may point to Northern Africa. That the first conqueror in history was a Scythian is reported by Justin, on the authority of Pompeius Trogus, who had access to Asiatic sources.

This is what may be said in regard to the historical foundation of the Egyptian story about that conquest. As to the island of Atlantis, which is stated to have disappeared, I look upon it as a pure fiction, the origin of which was the notion of a violent separation between the two continents at Gibraltar, which was taken for granted as an event of early times. This ancient story may very well have grown, at Sais, sooner or later, into the above fabulous form.

Now if the priests of Sais did say anything about a primeval Athens, and made Kekrops contemporary with it, they either imposed upon Solon or Plato, or them both. But the whole, or the greater part, of this story bears upon it so palpably the Platonic stamp, as foreshadowing the position of Athens in the Persian war, and as the model of an aristocratical reforming constitution to be reestablished, that we need only read his *Kritias* to be satisfied on that head. What is there but lightly touched upon is here embellished almost like a *Cyropædia*, and is obviously treated as a philosophical myth.

My views, therefore, stand between those of Böckh and of Henri Martin, the acute commentator on the *Timæus*, and come nearest to those of Humboldt in his "History of the Discovery of America."

But the main interest for universal history is this, that if the whole be not a Platonic fiction, the Egyptians themselves made the origines of Asia antecedent to their own, and therefore to those of the Ionians and Pelasgi on the shores of the Mediterranean in Asia Minor.

Eight millenniums before Solon are exactly 8550 B. C.

Now if the Egyptians migrated to the valley of the Nile before the Flood, the very latest date of these historical origines will be the beginning of the tenth millennium, or the end of the eleventh (towards 10,000 B. C.).

On this supposition their historical reminiscences might well extend back to the middle of the ninth millennium, for we require a period for their naturalisation in the valley of the Nile before a really Egyptian consciousness could be formed. All the preceding period belongs to the time of the Gods, which was succeeded, without any intervening heroic age, by the regular establishment of cities and nomes.

No traditions of earlier states of mankind in Asia or Europe could possibly have existed, had they considered themselves a primitive race and not possessed reminiscences of an immigration. In early times, indeed, the Uinnins, or Ionians, may have been, in the monumental language, all the non-Phœnician races of the islands and seaboard of the non-African Mediterranean.

It is remarkable that in the lyrical fragment preserved in the lately discovered work of Hippolytus¹³⁰, Egypt is not included in the sketch of the countries which lay claim to have produced the first men. Among the claimants the first are Bœotians, with the Idæan Kuretæ, the Phrygian Korybantes, the Arcadian Pelasgi, those of Eleusis, the Lemnian Kabiri, and the Giants of Pellas; all that is said about Egypt is the old story of the Nile at the inundation moistening and fertilising the mud so that "living bodies" came out of it. This alludes to the vermin, frogs and such like animals, which are more particularly mentioned by Diodorus (and also in Exodus). In the same passage it is also stated that the Assyrians had a tradition about a primeval man, Oannes¹³¹, an eater of fish. This is the Fish-man of the Babylonians or Chaldeans, of whom we have read in Berosus; who also are said, upon very questionable authority, to have had a primitive man called Adam,

¹³⁰ Philosophumena, lib. v. p. 96. seq.

¹³¹ In Duncker and Schneidewin's critical edition, now completed, the unmeaning word Iannes is changed into Oannes.

who has been already mentioned in the Chaldee kosmogony.

Assuming, therefore, what we know about the course of history from other sources, this view of the above passage in Plato harmonizes with all the rest. It is no part of our object to establish by it the ancient history of the world, or even to make use of it for the purpose of interpreting history. But, on the other hand, it frequently helps us to discover the real meaning of Biblical and other traditions, when attempts are made to show that they are either pure inventions or have no meaning at all.

As the letter of the above story is fabulous, so is the germ of it, in the main, in perfect harmony with the facts and records of the earliest history.

The mention of the Flood is not less remarkable. There can be no question as to the reminiscence of an historical flood in the Greek legends about Deukalion and Ogyges. The Egyptian priests did not profess that their own sacred books contained any record of an historical flood of this kind. They were aware that many, perhaps innumerable, devastations and catastrophes had been occasioned by fire as well as water, and they had no doubt that many other such would occur, by which, as had happened frequently before, land, man, and their history would be swept away, to be succeeded by a new creation.

This is the result at which we arrived from our own examination and interpretation of the so-called dynasties of Gods. Here, however, we find a corroboration in Egyptian tradition itself. The Egyptians knew nothing about a flood in the northern part of Central Asia. The Greeks, however, as well as the inhabitants of Asia Minor in Phrygia and Lycia, had such a tradition.

Grecian mythology, therefore, really does not say anything absurd or at variance with the Egyptian, in making Ægyptus the son of Belus, the oldest God of

Babylon; and Europa the daughter of Agenor or Phœnix, i. e. the patriarch of Kanaan (Phœnicia) or Edom.¹³²

In the present state of science these traditions have become intelligible, though they cannot be made the basis of historical criticism. This rests preeminently upon the ground of the infallible linguistic science. But it is matter of congratulation to find that the echo of the child-like traditions of all the ancient peoples harmonizes with the scientific analysis of the *Origines* of the human race, and with the fragments of the sacred traditions of the race of Abraham which have been preserved to us in the Bible.

F.

GENERAL RESULT OF THE COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ORIGINES OF LANGUAGE AND MYTHOLOGY, RESPECTING EGYPT IN PARTICULAR.

AFTER having thus analyzed all the traditions of the ancient world about the *origines*, in so far as they have any pretension to be connected with Egypt, the historical position of the Egyptian *origines* is now defined on all sides. The direct results of the previous researches have been summed up at the end of each Section. But it is only now that we may call upon our readers to draw for themselves the general conclusions which seem necessarily to flow from the leading facts we have laid before them, in the course of our historical examination, as to chronology, as to language, as to religion, and as to the universal history of mankind.

In the first place, as regards the general chronological result, which includes the approximative analysis of the

¹³² See Schol. to *Timæus*, p. 92. ed. Platon. Lond. vol. ix.; and the well-known passages in Apollodorus, with Heyne's notes.

origines, we may, as far as Egypt and the whole of ancient Asia are concerned, confidently assert that all these traditions, as well as all the facts in language and mythology, are irreconcilable with the rabbinical system blindly adopted by the Christian nations. But it also results from all our researches, that it is only by the grossest misunderstanding that the Bible can be claimed as the authority and guarantee for such unwarranted notions.

In respect to the system here pursued for restoring the ancient dates of the human race upon the basis of the combined testimony of language, of mythology, and the best-authenticated traditions, and especially those of the Bible itself, these researches, which have been carried out upon perfectly independent principles, have led upon the whole to the same result; and the chronological restoration has found its strongest support in the internal connexion which is thus established between the incontrovertible facts and the traditions respecting the primitive world.

The Biblical tradition about the origines of man ceases now to be isolated and sterile. We have found several points of contact with Egypt and the mythological Semites, with the Arians of Asia and of Europe, even with the primitive race of the Chinese. The Biblical tradition is thus directed into the stream of general history, and the place of Egypt has shown itself to us as the great Middle Age of mankind.

Lastly, as regards the question of the unity of the Egyptian with the Semitic and Arian races, in Asia as well as in Europe, we find that they all have roots in common, both as to language and to mythology. One civilisation prevails throughout the whole of this world. But, on the other side, all the dreams and conjectures about a later historical influence having been exercised by Egypt upon Asia, and even upon Hellas, fall to the ground. In like manner, not only the adventurous as-

sumption that the origines of Egypt are to be sought for in India, but also the attempt at a scientific proof that a social connexion in historic times existed between the Semitic and Arian forms of religion, entirely fails. That certain influences were, however, exercised by the Semites on the Ionic Greeks in these times, is not to be denied ; but they stand as isolated facts, and are limited to travestied myths and secret forms of worship, far remote from intellectual religious consciousness.

Those who oppose these conclusions ought, as moral and scientific men, to attack either the premises or the results deduced from them, or both. They must see that they have not to deal with abstract theories, or with isolated facts and empirical reflections. They are right to appeal to the Bible. But then they must first learn to judge the Bible (that fig-leaf of ignorance and indolence for so many) philologically and critically, as has conscientiously been done in Germany these last ninety years. They ought to learn to consider languages as primeval facts ; and they must, moreover, try to understand what are the laws of their development. The case with mythology is the same. These problems are before us, and cannot be any longer ignored. Finally, and though last not least, they must study the Egyptian monuments and records, and not evade this labour with simulated disdain. They must not follow up delusions and imaginations, but study and adopt that scientific method which — created by Champollion, improved by Lepsius, and powerfully advanced by Birch, De Rouge, and others — has produced, in less than forty years, a grammar and a dictionary, and analytical carefully reasoned translations. This Egyptology furnishes us with well established and critically sifted facts for fixing Egypt's place in the history of the world, and for filling up the more lamentable lacunæ which heretofore existed in our knowledge of the development of the human mind, the science of the future.

PART VII.

EGYPT, AND THE AGES OF THE WORLD ;

OR,

OUTLINES OF THE FRAMEWORK OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE

TO EGYPT.

INTRODUCTION.

SURVEY OF THE EPOCHS.

I.

THE AGES OF THE WORLD, AND THE EARLY EPOCHS, ACCORDING TO
THE PLACE WHICH HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO EGYPT IN GENERAL
HISTORY.

THE Egyptians are the chronometers of the history of the world. This expression has been verified throughout every portion of this lengthened inquiry. Whether advancing forwards or backwards, we have always found a steady resting-place in the historical monuments of Egypt. But it is only the general history of the world which gives us the framework for each portion, both as regards dates and historical interest.

By the combination and reciprocal action of these two elements, astonishing light has gradually been thrown upon the older and oldest history of our race. Especially we have learned by it to understand the facts of the formation of language and mythology, the two great exploits of the human mind in what Müller has called the epopœic and mythologic period. There is the closest interconnexion between them, inasmuch as the formation of words leads to the formation of myths; and there is no phenomenon in the latter of which the germ was not foreshadowed in the former.

Now the facts of these two imperishable records and

monuments force us at once to seek out of Africa for the origines, and to look towards Central Asia, in order to find them.

The original roots common to Egypt and the whole of the old historical races are in primitive Asia ; first, in antediluvian, then in the oldest and old postdiluvian, Asia.

Hence, therefore, there is nothing more certain than the historical character of the sketch which has been preserved in the Bible, taken in its general leading features. The history of the world is to be divided, in the first place, into ante- and post-diluvian.

The first commencement of Egypt belongs to the antediluvian period, that is, to the last epoch of it. Its language is the deposit of an Asiatic formation which had already passed beyond the stage of Sinism, and writing has made a step in advance of pure pictures. The oldest Turanian formations, as we find them in the highlands and slopes of the Himalaya, are an older type than Khamism, that is, than the Egyptian type. This in itself, supposing about two myriads of years B.C., in the middle of which the deluge in the primitive country took place, would throw back these Egyptian origines to about the ninth or tenth millennium of mankind, or the year 9000 of mankind, that is, 11,000 B.C.

The beginnings of Egypt as a state, the formation of Nomes with a lax confederation of the different provinces, cannot however be placed later than about 7000 B.C., or 13,000 of mankind, on account of the date which we must assign to Menes.

To the three earlier millenniaums of the postdiluvian period belongs the separation between the Arian and the Semitic, especially the language of the Iranians. This separation was caused by the vast shoot which the Arian race had produced, forming the crown of the tree of language of mankind. The Semitic and Arian entirely overlaid the preceding formation, Khamism or

Turanism, in the fairest portion of the old world, in Asia and Europe.

But before one of the two divided races had raised itself into a dominant power in Asia, a Turanian empire was formed which threatened to eclipse them both, and may even have seriously disturbed the first political beginnings of Egypt, the empire of Nimrod.

All things considered, the date of this cannot be earlier than 12,000 years of Man, or 8000 B.C., certainly not later than 13,000 of Man, or 7000 B.C.

The beginnings of the first Mesopotamian kingdom—the cradle of the postdiluvian civilisation of man in the West—do not go back chronologically much beyond Menes, that is, beyond 3700 or 3800. But the building of the vastest monument in Babylon and the world—the temple of Belus—dates from about 3000, or the era of the largest pyramid. This temple must not be confounded with the watch-tower in Genesis, which is, however, historical, only many thousand years older.

Prior to this commencement of strictly chronological computation there were undoubtedly historical reminiscences of man in Babylon, which go back to the earlier portion of the postdiluvian period.

But, as regards the Arian beginnings, we were unable to place the immigration into the Indus country later than 4000 B.C., and consequently the immigration from Bactria later than 5000; or the foundation of the Zoroastrian religion later than between 3500 and 3000.

The social union, therefore, of the Arian peoples does not date merely from India, but goes back to Iran, and is consequently anterior to 5000 B.C.

That of the Pelasgo-Hellenic races, placed as nearly as possible prior to the emigration from Bactria, is accordingly earlier still, about 6000 B.C.

The date of the separation of the Slavic and Germanic tribes may probably be older, and certainly cannot

be younger ; that of the Kelts, must be coeval, at latest, with the age of Nimrod.

The social union with the Turanians, however, belongs to the beginning of the postdiluvian age, if not to the antediluvian.

Thus we obtain the following historical table of Egyptian dates.

The main Epochs of the Four Ages of the World.

Creation of Man in Northern Asia, set at	-	B.C. 20,000
Great disturbance in the globe, and Flood in		
the primitive country	- - - -	10,000

First Age.

Old antediluvian history (Primeval World). (From the Creation to the Flood) - - 20,000 to 10,000

First formation of language and commencement of the formation of mythology :

- I. Formation of Sinism - B.C. 20,000 to 15,000
 - II. „ Old Turanism - 15,000 to 12,000
 - III. „ Khamism - 12,000 to 11,000
- Emigration to Egypt.

THE FLOOD - - 10,000

Second Age.

Old postdiluvian history (Middle Age). (From the emigration caused by the Flood down to the departure of Abraham from Mesopotamia) - 10,000 to 2878

IV. (1.) The formation of Semism. The Turanian kingdom (Nimrod) - B.C. 10,000 to 7250

V. (2.) The formation of Iranism 7250 to 4000

VI. (3.) Chaldeeism in Babylonia - - 4000

The empire of Menes in Egypt - 3623

Third Age.

Modern history before Christ. (From Abraham to Christ) - - B.C. 2877 to A.D. 33

VII. (1.) The time of Abraham - B.C. 2877 to 1320

VIII. (2.) „ Moses - - 1320 to 604

IX. (3.) „ Solon and Sokrates to Augustus - 604 to 30

CHRIST.

Fourth Age.

Modern history after Christ - - A.D. 33 to x.

X. From free Church Congregations to free National Churches - - A.D. 33 to 1550

XI. From small to great free National Governments and Federal States - - - „ 1550 to x.

II.

THE EPOCHS OF THE HISTORICAL RELATIONS OF EGYPT.

THE earliest trace of social union between the Egyptian and Semitico-Arian peoples belongs to a stage of antediluvian development which has disappeared, as a point of transition in Asia itself, by the movements of races consequent on the emigration of the Semites and Arians from the primeval country. And yet this is at once the most important of all, as well as the best authenticated.

Its record is engraven in indelible lines in language, and in the early poetry and mythology directly connected with the formation of language. But we find also unmistakable traces of their common origin in the proper mythopœic or oldest mythological epoch.

After that period all demonstrable contact on a large scale between Egypt and Asia ceases for the many thousands of years before Menes. Philo's extracts from Sankhuniathon certainly make it probable that the Phœnicians did exercise in that epoch an early religious influence upon them, called the voyage of the Kabiri. The Menes empire is exclusively Egyptian. The Hyksos made Egypt tributary, resided at Memphis, and had a fortified camp on the frontier: but there is no ground for supposing that these Semitic races exercised any influence there.

Still less was any Zoroastrian influence at work. The Arians always kept aloof from Egypt. All that Egypt received at their hands was its death-blow, inflicted by the most modern Arian people of Asia, the Persians, after they had obtained universal dominion in Asia. The Egyptians knew no more of Zoroaster than they did of Abraham, and his general religious views were in many points even more at variance with those of Egypt than were Abraham's. The descendants of the latter, indeed, and his adherents, always had a leaning towards the worship of Seth-Baal, and his bloody human sacrifices, and the cognate mysteries of Adonis.

On the purely negative side the connexion of Egypt with the Hellenic beginnings and with the Asiatico-Arian traditions is the same. In contrast with both, the Egyptians are an antediluvian people, and they exercised no more influence on the Arians than on the Semites or Greeks.

But they were not "an abomination" to the Hebrews, any more than they were "barbarians" in the stricter sense to the Greeks; although the former were in their eyes unclean and godless, the latter mere intellectual children.

In surveying therefore the whole development of Egypt we find four great epochs of interconnexion between Egyptian and universal history.

- I. In the latter part of the primeval world, or the Khamitico-Turanian period before the Flood: a community of origin, manifesting itself in language and in the germs of religious consciousness.
- II. In the *Second Epoch* (the time of the princes prior to Menes): possibly the influence of most ancient Phœnician Semism in mythology (Ptah and Pataikoi): Abydos and the Myth of Osiris: beginnings of the Ritual.
- III. In the *Third Epoch*, from Menes to Alexander, between thirty-three and thirty-four centuries, the Egyptians live in rigid separation and hostility as to Asia: their contact with the Hebrews (in which these politically are sufferers, commercially gainers) is of the highest interest. The Greek genius began to look with admiration upon Egypt in the Homeric age (tenth century); from that of Psammetichus to Herodotus it gazed inquiringly upon the political mummy of which Alexander was to be the heir.
- IV. In the *Fourth Epoch*, the Alexandrian: the Egyptian element becomes mixed up first of all, before Christ, with the Helleno-Jewish, and afterwards with the Christian.

Our illustration, therefore, will proceed on one side according to the general epochs of history, on the other according to the epochs of the historical points of contact with Egypt.

Before doing this, we will offer a twofold synopsis of the historical and chronological connexion.

First, the synopsis of the ages of the world and their subdivisions, and then the series of the Egyptian dynasties and kings according to the historical divisions of Egyptian history, from Menes to Alexander. We will also take this opportunity of supplying some omissions, and correcting and completing some statements contained in the former volumes.

This having been done, we may then finally proceed to draw a real picture of Egyptian life within that framework of universal history. We repeat that in doing this we have not the least intention of giving an antiquarian account of Egypt, or a connected political sketch of its history. Those portions of it which have an important bearing upon universal history have already been examined for that purpose : as to the Old Empire in the Second Book ; as to the New, down to Sheshonk, in the Fourth. It is only the great leading points which have here to be touched upon and illustrated, in representing their bearing upon the universal history of the human mind.

SECTION I.

THE SYNOPSIS OF THE FOUR AGES OF THE WORLD.

FIRST AGE OF THE WORLD.

ANCIENT ANTEDILUVIAN HISTORY, FROM THE CREATION
TO THE FLOOD.—PRIMITIVE FORMATION OF LANGUAGE
AND BEGINNING OF THE FORMATION OF MYTHOLOGY.

The Historical Primeval World.

(I. II. III.)

1—10,000 Year of Man.

20,000—10,000 B. C.

First Period. (I.)

FORMATION AND DEPOSIT OF SINISM.

(20,000—15,000 B. C.)

PRIMITIVE language, spoken with rising or falling cadence; elucidated by gesture; accompanied by pure pictorial writing: every syllable a word, every word a full substantive one, representable by a picture.

Deposit of this language in Northern China (Shensi), in the country of the source of the Hoangho—Sinism.

The earliest polarisation of religious consciousness: Kosmos or Universe, and the Soul or Personality. Objective worship, the firmament: subjective worship, the Souls of parents, or the Manifestation of the Divine in the Family.

Second Period. (II.)

FORMATION AND DEPOSIT OF PRIMITIVE TURANISM: THE
EASTERN POLARISATION OF SINISM.

(15,000—14,000 B.C.)

Pure agglutinative language: formation of polysyllabic words by means of the unity of accent (word-accent).

Origin of particles, words no longer substantive and full, but denoting the mutual relation of persons and things; finally of complete parts of speech.

Deposit of this stage of formation in Thibet (Botiya language).

Germ of mythology in the substantiation of inanimate things and of properties.

Third Period. (III.)

FORMATION AND DEPOSIT OF KHAMISM AND THE FLOOD:
WESTERN POLARISATION OF SINISM.

(14,000—11,000 B.C.)

Formation of stems into roots, producing derivative words: complete parts of speech, beyond the distinction between full words (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) and formative words	14000
Declension and conjugation with affixes, suffixes, and endings: stage of the Egyptian	13000
Commencement of symbolical Hieroglyphics, i. e. picture-writing: but without the introduction of the phonetic element or designation of sound	12000
Deposit of this stage of language in Egypt owing to the earliest immigration of West-Asiatic primitive Semites. Invention of, or	

advancement in, hieroglyphic signs; the phonetic element introduced, by means of the establishment of ideographs to express a syllable, without reference to the original meaning: primitive syllabarium - - 11000

THE FLOOD.

CONVULSION IN NORTHERN ASIA.

EMIGRATION

of the Arians out of the country of the sources of the
Oxus (Gihon) and Iaxartes,

and

of the Semites out of the country of the sources of
the Euphrates and Tigris,

11,000—10,000.

SECOND AGE

ANCIENT POSTDILUVIAN HISTORY.—FROM THE EMIGRATION
FORMATION OF THE HISTORICAL

The Middle Age of Mankind.

First Period. (IV.)

HISTORY OF EGYPTIAN DEPOSIT.

The period of the Nomes, and the formation of Osirism or the psychical element of religion, and basis of the union: provincial solar worship: beginning of Egyptian nationality	10000
Beginning of the formation of castes: priests and warriors.	
Close of the republican period in the Nomes	9086
Bytis, the Theban priest of Ammon, the first sacerdotal king - - - - -	9085
Duration of the sacerdotal kings, according to Manetho, 1855 years: end of sacerdotal kings - - - - -	7231

OF THE WORLD.

AFTER THE FLOOD DOWN TO ABRAHAM IN MESOPOTAMIA.—
TRIBES AND EMPIRES OF ASIA.

(IV. V. VI.) 10,000—2878 B. C.

(10,000—7250 B. C.)

GENERAL EPOCHS OF ASIATIC HISTORY.

The Establishment of Semism in Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, and the Kossite-Turanian Empire.

(10,000—7250 B. C.)

Complete severance of Western and Eastern polarisation
by the separation of the Semites and Arians.

Establishment of Semism in the formation of affixes

The triliteral system, as exclusive formative principle.

and suffixes with a predominance of triliteral roots.

The Turanian invasion and empire: Nimrod, the
Kossian. Assembly of peoples at Babylon (watch-
tower), and Semitic polarisation and emigration.

Journey of the Arians from Upa-Meru to Sogd and
Bactria.

Second Period. (V.)**HISTORY OF EGYPTIAN DEPOSIT.**

Beginning of elective kings	- - - -	7230
Duration of these, according to Manetho, 1817		
years: end	- - - -	5414
Beginning of hereditary kings in Lower Egypt		5413
Duration of them, according to Manetho, 1790		
years: end	- - - -	3624
Contemporaneous Thinite princes before Menes, during the last 350 years of the pre-Menite period, according to Manetho, collaterally with the Memphites: therefore from	- 3974 to 3624	
Consequently a double government: the Upper Country (Abydos)—the Lower Country (On, Heliopolis.)		
Development of the three forms of worship in their sepa- rate characters: Set (Delta)—Ra (Heliopolis, Hepta- nomis)—Ammon (Thebes=City of Ammon): Osiris gradually becomes the object of worship of the whole confederation.		

Third Period. (VI.)**HISTORY OF EGYPTIAN DEPOSIT.**

Menes king of all Egypt: Osiris-Union and the consciousness of Egypt being a kingdom	-	3623
Pyramids built in the first dynasty	- - -	3460
Animal worship introduced, improvement and establishment of writing, beginnings of litera- ture: second and third dynasty (contempora- neous: Beginnings of the Ritual)	- -	3400
Building of the largest pyramid (the second of Herodotus)	- - - -	3280
Nitokris and the tomb in the pyramid of Men- keres (the third)	- - - -	2957

(7250—4000 B.C.)

GENERAL EPOCHS OF ASIATIC HISTORY.

Establishment of Iranism and the Egyptian Hieroglyphics.

(7250—4000 B.C.)

Perfect formative language: the united races
of the Arians and their gradual separation
as Kelts, Armenians, Iranians, Greeks, Slaves,
Germans, &c. - - - - - 7250 to 5000

In this period the individual formation of the
separate races of northern and southern
Semites.

Formation of the Arian kingdoms in Central
Asia as far as Northern Media and to Kabul
and Kandahar - - - - - 5000 to 4000

(4000—2878 B.C.)

GENERAL EPOCHS OF ASIATIC HISTORY.

Power of Chaldeeism and Khamism: the Beginnings of writing
with Letters by the Semites.

(4000—2878 B.C.)

The Arians migrate into the Indus country - 4000

Formation of a powerful Chaldean empire in
Southern Babylonia - - - - - —

Beginning of Chaldean series of kings in Babylon 3784

Zoroaster, the seer and lawgiver of Bactria 3500 to 3000

Building of the city of Babylon, 2000 years be-
fore Semiramis (Temple of Belus) - - 3250

Abraham (Abram) born in Ur of the Chaldees 2927

Abraham withdraws to the south-western part of
Mesopotamia with his father - - - 2900

THIRD AGE OF THE WORLD.

MODERN HISTORY, ANTE-CHRISTIAN DEVELOPMENT.—FROM ABRAHAM TO CHRIST.—THE HISTORICAL MEN OF THE SPIRIT, AND THE SUPREMACY OF THE IRANIANS AND THEIR FREE CITIES.

Part First of Modern History.

(VII. VIII. IX.)

2877—30 B. C.

First Period. (VII.)

THE TIME OF ABRAHAM.

From the Immigration of Abraham down to the year before the Exodus from Egypt.

(2877—1321 B. C.)

Immigration of Abraham into Kanaan	-	-	2877
<i>The Eleventh Dynasty (43 years), and the commencement of the First Sothiac Period towards the end of that dynasty</i>	-	-	278 $\frac{5}{2}$
Beginning of the Tyrian chronology	-	-	2760
Sesurtesen I. (Sesortôsis, Sesôstris) <i>sole king of the Twelfth Dynasty.</i> Joseph viceroy (Shalith)	-	-	2755
Jacob comes into Egypt	-	-	274 $\frac{7}{6}$
Beginning of the Hyksos rule in Egypt	-	-	2547
The Medes conquer Babylon, and Zoroaster founds there the second Babylonian dynasty	-	-	2234
End of the Median dominion in Babylon	-	-	2011
The Hyksos evacuate Egypt	-	-	1626

<i>The Eighteenth Dynasty</i> (Tuthmoses): Amôsis, the founder, drives the Hyksos into Avaris -	1625
Tuthmosis III. forces the Hyksos to withdraw from Pelusium (fifth year of his reign) -	1540
Beginning of the 215 years of bondage of the Israelites in Egypt (215 years before the Exodus in 1320) - - - - -	1535
<i>The Nineteenth Dynasty.</i> Sethos, the great conqueror (twelve years) - - - - -	1404
Ramses II., the conqueror and oppressor of the Israelites (66 years) - - - - -	1392
Menephthah, his son, king: preparations for revolt - - - - -	1325

Second Period. (VIII.)

THE TIME OF MOSES.

From Moses to Solon.

(1320—594 B.C.)

Moses leads the Israelites out of Egypt. The law delivered on Sinai - - - - -	1320
Ramses III. (xx. Dyn.) <i>last Campaign</i> - - - - -	1287
Joshua leads the Israelites over Jordan (40 years after the Exodus) - - - - -	1280
Foundation of the Assyrian dominion by the conquest of Babylon - - - - -	1273
Israelites tributary to the Assyrian viceroy of Mesopotamia (8 years) - - - - -	1255
Beginning of the Chronology of the Island of Tyre (New Tyre) - - - - -	1254
Semiramis sets out on her Indian campaign - - - - -	1230
Close of the Jewish republic: Saul king - - - - -	1080
David king (41 years) - - - - -	1028
Building of Solomon's temple - - - - -	1014

Sesak (Sesonkhis, xxii. Dynasty) burns Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam	974
Prophecy of Joel, about	960
Serakh (Osorkon, the successor of Sesak) defeated at Maresa by Asa	946
Foundation of Carthage	814
Royal government established by law at Sparta: Lycurgus	810
Beginning of the Olympiads	776
Beginning of the Era of the building of Rome	753
Downfall of the Ninyads in Nineveh (Sardanapalus) by means of Sargina (Sargun)	748
Provincial independence of Babylon: commencement of the Era of Nabonassar	747
<i>The Ethiopian Dynasty in Egypt</i>	736
Capture of Samaria: end of the Northern kingdom	719
Psammetichus restores the independence of Egypt (xxvi. Dyn.)	
Elegant style in art	686
Inroad of the Scythians in Asia (28 years)	633
Nekho III. defeats Josiah, king of Israel, at Megiddo, in the expedition against Nabopolassar	608
Battle of Karkhemish (Kirkesium). Nekho defeated. Jeremiah is forbidden to preach	605
Jeremiah writes his prophecies in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and predicts the fall of Judah and destruction of Jerusalem	604

Third Period. (IX.)

THE TIME OF SOLON AND SOKRATES.

From Solon to Christ.

(594—30 B.C.)

Legislation of Solon: first popular constitution of the cities	594
Destruction of Jerusalem	586
Jeremiah in Egypt in the reign of Uaphres (Hophra, Apries) with Barukh	—
Cyrus, king of the Persians and Medes	559
Cræsus, king of Lydia, in league with Egypt and Babylon, defeated at the Halys	554
Cyrus conquers Babylon	539
Commencement of the Persian dominion, and with it of the Iranian	538
<i>Kambyses conquers Egypt</i> : first year in Egypt (5th)	525
Amyrtæus in the marshes of the Delta	450
Amyrtæus becomes king 404, reigns six years, to	399
<i>The last two Pharaonic Dynasties</i> : the Mendesian (xxix.), Nephertites, 21 years, from 398—378: and the Sebennyitic of the Nectanebi (xxx.), 38 years, from 377 to	340
<i>Alexander's conquest of Egypt</i> . End of its independence	331
Building of Alexandria. Intermixture of Egyptian, Greek, and Jewish elements. The Ptolemies. Style of art Hellenized	—
<i>Capture of Alexandria by Octavianus on the Kalends of Sextilis</i> (Cæsar Augustus)	30

FOURTH AGE OF THE WORLD.

MODERN HISTORY, CHRISTIAN DEVELOPMENT.—THE SUBORDINATION OF THE NATIONAL TO THE HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLE, AND THE FORMATION OF LARGE FREE STATES.

Second Part of Modern History. (X. XIa.)

First Period. (X.)

From the first Assemblies of Christians to the Institution of National Church Congregations.

(33—1550 A. D.)

Coptic (Christian-Egyptian) translation of the Bible	150
Decline of demotic (gentile Egyptian) character in Egypt	180
Zenith of the Greco-Coptic congregation at Alexandria, hellenism predominant: from Clemens to Origen	200—250
Decline of gentilism in Egypt in the reign of Theodosius and his immediate successors	400
The Coptic language displaced by the Arabic, with considerable vestiges of it in the Fayum and the Thebaid	800
Egypt wasted and permanently impoverished by the failure of the inundation for two years	1198, 1199

Beginning of the Second Period.

(XIa.)

(1550—1860 A.D.)

Coptic almost extinct as a living language	-	1700
Coptic an entirely unintelligible ecclesiastical language	- - - - -	1750
Napoleon's expedition to Egypt: Rosetta inscription	- - - - -	1800
Hieroglyphics again decipherable: Champollion		1821
Coptic again made intelligible to the Copts as the language of the Bible by the Protestant missionaries (Coptic school in Cairo, Gobat and Lieder)	- - - - -	1834
Mission sent by Frederic William IV. to Egypt to examine and make an historical collection of the Egyptian monuments: Lepsius	-	1842—1845
The Suez Canal begun	- - - - -	1860

SECTION II.

THE SERIES OF EGYPTIAN KINGS IN THE OLD, MIDDLE,
AND NEW EMPIRES, ACCORDING TO THE HISTORICAL
SECTIONS, IN TABULAR FORM.

A.

THE OLD EMPIRE.

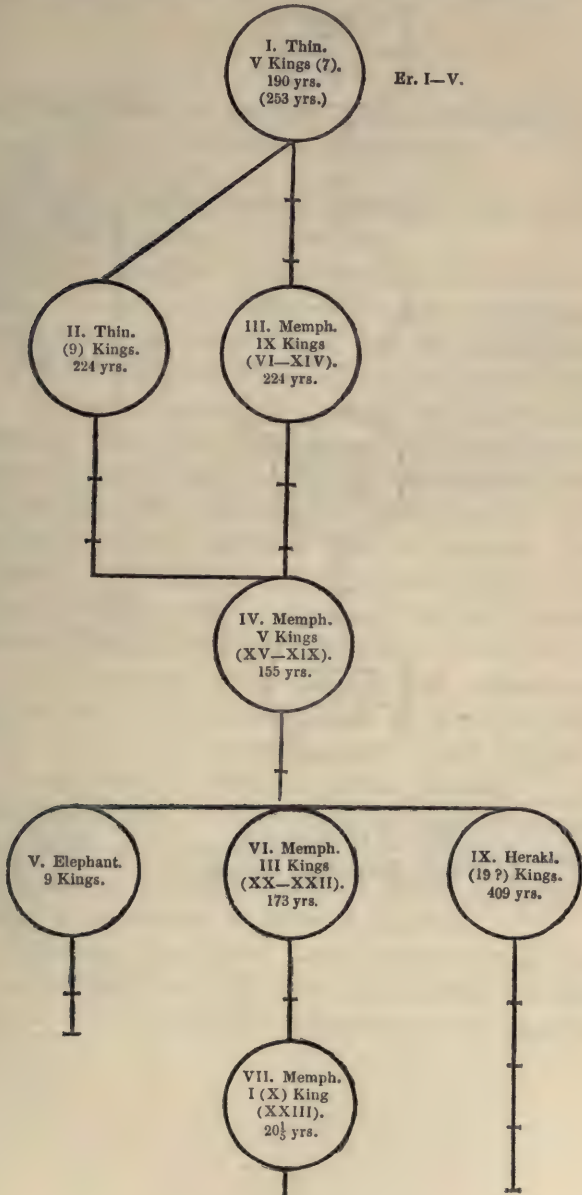
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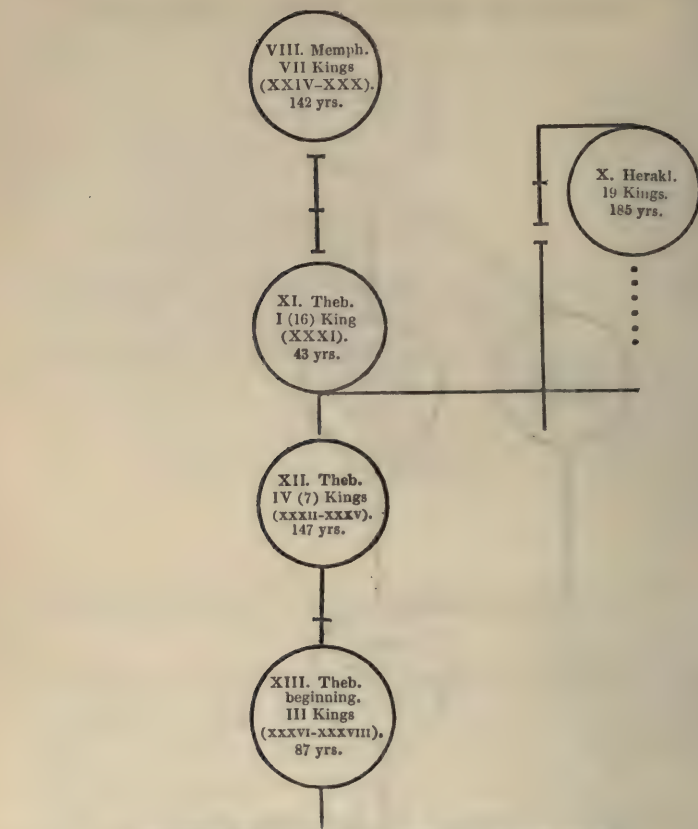
GRAPHIC SYNOPSIS OF THE DYNASTIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL
RELATIONS.

WE have 38 kings in 13 dynasties and 1076 years. The question before us is to exhibit the connexion and position of the dynasties in such a way as to give at the same time a sketch of the relative chronology.

This, we think, may best be effected by placing the dynasties which form the chronological series in one row under each other, and separating them by lines, the length of which represents the time, upon the scale of — to a century; and by arranging the collateral dynasties in such a way that the southern shall be on the left, the northern on the right, of the chronological series.

EMPIRE OF MENES: 38 Kings. 1076 years.





II.

COMPLETE SURVEY OF THE OLD EMPIRE ACCORDING TO ITS
HISTORICAL SECTIONS.

THE Old Empire passed through three historical epochs in 1076 years.

The first reaches to the extinction of the 4th Dynasty. Down to that time the empire was undivided, although, when the male line of the race of Menes died out in the fifth generation, a Thinite dynasty (2nd), which probably succeeded through an heiress, existed collaterally with the royal house of Memphis (3rd), and would seem to have exercised considerable influence upon the religious institutions of the country.

But after this it is clear that a complete division took place. The Empire Proper, the power of which commenced at Memphis, was carried on by Phiops, the founder of the 6th Dynasty. Contemporaneously with this, a dynasty was established in the extreme south (Elephantine, 5th), which appears to have founded an empire of no little importance in Upper Egypt. Besides, there was a Herakleopolitan dynasty (9th) at Abaris (near Zoan), which kept possession (subsequently in two lines) until the empire was reunited under the 12th Dynasty, although without doubt its power and authority were subject to some limitation.

As therefore the Third Epoch, that of the Restoration, begins with the 12th (the Sesortosidæ), so did the Middle Epoch, that of the Separation, with the 6th.

First Period.—THE FOUNDATION AND*From MENES to PHIOPS: 1—569:**First Dynasty, THINITES: 1—190. 5 Kings.*

		Yrs.	B. C.
I. Menes	- - -	62	3623—3562
II. Athôtis I., son	- - -	59	3561—3503
III. Athôtis II., son	- - -	32	3502—3471
IV. Diabies (Miabaês), son	- - -	19	3470—3452
V. Pemphôs (Sempsôs), son	- - -	17	3451—3434

Third Dynasty, MEMPHITES: 191—414. 9 Kings, 224 Yrs.

VI. (1.) Momkheiri (Se-sorkheres)	- - -	79	3433—3355
VII. (2.) Stoikhos Ares (Asses Toikhros)	- - -	6	3354—3349
VIII. (3.) Gosormies (Sesor-tôsis)	- - -	30	3348—3319
IX. (4.) Mares (Mares Se-surkheres)	- - -	26	3318—3293
X. (5.) Anoyphis (An-Soyphis)	- - -	20	3292—3273
XI. (6.) Sirios (Si-Irios?)	- - -	18	3272—3255
XII. (7.) Khnubos Gneuros (Khn. Snefros)	- - -	22	3254—3233
XIII. (8.) Rayôsis (Rasôsis)	- - -	13	3232—3220
XIV. (9.) Biyres (Bikheris)	- - -	10	3219—3210

Fourth Dynasty, MEMPHITES: 415—569. 5 Kings, 155 Yrs.

XV. (1.) Saôphis I.	- - -	29	3209—3181
XVI. (2.) Saôphis II.	- - -	27	3180—3154
XVII. (3.) Menkheres I.	- - -	31	3153—3123
XVIII. (4.) Menkheres II.	- - -	33	3122—3090
XIX. (5.) Pammes	- - -	35	3089—3055

ESTABLISHMENT: DYN. I. II. III. IV.

B. C. 3619—3051.

First Dynasty.

- I. MNA (Tur. Pap. and Ramess.): Damming off of the Nile, Joseph's Canal (?)—Memphis and Temple of Ptah. Conquest of the Libyans.
 - II. ATT (Tur. Pap.): royal residence at Memphis. Beginnings of medicinal science (?).
 - III. TTI (Tur. Pap. and sarkophagus at Berlin).
 - IV. Famine.—Pyramids of Kokhôme (Koskam?).
 - V. SMN-TTI (? Tablet of Karnak).
- (Divided Empire: II Dyn.: Thinites. 224 yrs.)

Second and Third Dynasties.

- 1. Introduction of the worship of Apis at Memphis, of Mnevis at Heliopolis, and of the Mendesian Goat: animal-worship, in a word, became the state religion.
Right of succession in the female line established in the South.
Revolt and subjugation of the Libyans.
- 3. Sesortôsis (whether the great lawgiver, the Sesostris of Aristotle?): Progress of the art of medicine—Invention of building with hewn blocks—Development of writing—Castes—Cavalry.
? SSR-MAKA-URA in the brick Pyramid of Dashur (the oldest building).
- 4. = Sasychis of Herodotus, the builder of the latter Pyramid and of the eastern propylæon of the Temple of Ptah. (Legislator—Inventor of practical geometry and astronomy.)
- 5. ? AN-KHUFU: KHUFU with the whip, in a tomb at Benihas-san. 3282 (3285) Beginning of the calculation of the solar year of 365 days on the first of Pachon, when the solstice and the rising of Sirius coincided.
- 6. ? SAHURA: northern Pyramid of Abouseer.
? Introduction of the Canicular (Sothis) cycle.
- 7. (Sesortôsis) SNFRU-'NUB-RA ("Gold-Sun"): Field of Pyramids of Gizeh. (Comp. Leps. B. of Kings, 3.)
- 9. Man.: Nephherkhêres, NFRU-KARA: Great Pyr. of Abouseer (?).

Fourth Dynasty.

- 1. KHUFU, second Pyr. (Preceded by SR (Soris), Leps. 8.)
- 2. NUM- (KHNEMU-) KHUFU, brother, and SAFRA, "the great of the Pyramid," son of Saophis I., builder of the largest Pyramid.
- 3. MN-KURA: Sarkophagus and tomb of the third Pyramid: (Menkheres, "the Holy?")
- 4. MN-KRA: builder of the fourth Pyramid.
- 5. MR-N-RA (Tablet of Karnak, before Pepi Merrira (Phiops): rival king. Pammes = Amosis is slain in a riot.
Nine contemporaneous kings of Elephantinean Dyn., according to Leps. 17–21.: the last two, TATKARA and UNAS. (V.)

Second Period.—DECLINE OF THE MEMPHITE
From PHIOPS to AMMENEMES: 570—842:

Sixth Dynasty. 3 Kings: 107 Years.

		Yrs.	B. C.
XX. (1.) Apappus (Phi-ops)	- - -	100	3054—2955
XXI. (2.) Ekheskos (Men-tuophis)	- - -	1	2954
XXII. (3.) Nitôkris	- - -	6	2953—2948

Seventh Dynasty, ONE THEBAN King: 22 Yrs.

XXIII. Amyrtæus	- - -	22	2947—2926
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*Eighth Dynasty, MEMPHITES, and Eleventh
 Dynasty, THEBAN KINGS.*

XXIV. Thuosimares	- - -	12	2925—2914
XXV. Sethinilos	- - -	8	2913—2906
XXVI. Semphukrates	- - -	18	2905—2888
XXVII. Khuther-Tauros	- - -	7	2887—2881
XXVIII. Meïres	- - -	12	2880—2869
XXIX. Tomaëphtha	- - -	11	2868—2858
XXX. Soikunis	- - -	60	2857—2798
XXXI. Peteathyres	- - -	16	2797—2782

The Sothiac cycle ends: the new one commences in the years 2785 to 2782: consequently the 1st Dynasty of the next Sothiac cycle is the 12th (beginning of the Third Volume).

EMPIRE: DYN. VI. VII. VIII. XI.

273 Years: B. C. 3050—2778.

Sixth Dynasty.

1. MRI MEIRA PPI (APPI): monuments from Silsilis to the Heptanomis. (Preceded by ATI (Othoes), Leps. 22.)
Obelisk without hieroglyphics, according to Pliny.
The son of Phiops, Menthuophis, co-regent from 3001.
2. MNTU-HPT: 28 years. Murdered by the Princes.
3. NIT-AKART (Tur. Pap.), the "Rosy-cheeked," regent: sepulchral chamber in the Pyramid of Menkheres (third). Leps. 29-36. has, besides MERENRA and NFRUKARA (according to us III. 9. and IV. 3.), TETA and IMHOTEP.

Seventh, Eighth, and Eleventh Dynasties.

These three Maneth. dyn. (of which the first two were Memphites, the 11th Thebans) reigned 186 or 190 years: they were rival kings to the eight kings of Erat., from XXIII. to XXXI., who reigned 166 years.

On the Tablet of Karnak, at Thebes, 8 Nantef Princes succeed Phiops (the fourth name is erased): then come 4 Kings — RA-SNFRU-KAR, NB-TU-RA, RA-NUB-KHPR, SSR-N-RA; after them Amenemha (12th Dyn.).

There are 4 NANTF or NUNTF on contemporary monuments: a Mentuophis, NBTU-RA, represented as the conqueror of northern races, corresponds to the Nebtura of the Tablet of Karnak: SSR-N-RA, with a King AN, on the votive statue of King Sesortosis I., of the 12th Dynasty (now in the British Museum), to the Sesar-en-ra of the Tablet. Leps. (135, 136) makes ANA (or AN) and ASSA (Asensa) kings of the 7th Dynasty.

Hence the transition from the end of the 6th, in the Tablet of Karnak, is fully verified by the monuments. The names in Eratosthenes must at all events have been Theban; but the text is so corrupt, that it is difficult to decide whether they are the Nantef names. Compare Leps. 151-175.

Each of these series agrees with the period of 140 years from the end of the 6th Dynasty down to the accession of Amenemha; or a few years more, if we reckon from the death of Phiops.

The immigration of Abraham into Kanaan took place in the year 2877, that is, in the fourth year of King Meïres (XXVIII.).

Third Period.—RESTORATION*From AMENEMHA to AMUNTIMÆUS: 843—**Twelfth Dynasty, THEBANS: 4 Kings: 147 Years.*

XXXII. (1.) Ammenemes - 26 2781—2756

XXXIII. (2.) Stammenemes	} 23	2755—2733
(Sesortosis-Ammenemes) -		

XXXIV. (3.) Sistosis (Sesortosis)	- - - 55	2732—2678
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XXXV. (4.) Mares	- - - 43	2677—2635
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Beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty, THEBANS: 87 Years.

XXXVI. (1.) Siphthah	- 5	2634—2630
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XXXVII. (2.) Phuorô	- - 19	2629—2611
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XXXVIII. (3.) Amuthartæus	63	2610—2548
(Amuntimæus)		

End of the Old Empire.

AND DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.

—1076: 234 Years: B. C. 2781—2548.

Twelfth Dynasty. (Leps. 176-183.)

1. AMN-M-HA (RA-SHPT-HT), according to Manetho, the Turin Pap., and monuments, reigned 5 yrs. alone, and then 21 yrs. conjointly with Sesortosis I. He was murdered in the palace.
- 2a. SSRTSN (KHPR-KAR-RA) reigned 27—49; up to 46 alone (20 years), and then 3 years with Amenemes II. (47 to 49). Obelisk of Matarieh (Heliopolis)—Obelisk of Begig (Arsinoe, Krokodilopolis)—Tombs at Benihassan (inscription recording the famine; Doric pillars)—Votive figure of old kings, Sesurtesen and An, now in the British Museum—Joseph viceroy at the age of 30—Sesurtesen possessed the copper mines in the Peninsula of Sinai. The 7 years of plenty from 2755 to 2749; the 7 years of famine, 2748 to 2742.

Jacob in Egypt, 2743 = 130th year of the Abrahamic chronology from the immigration into Kanaan (2877).

- b. AMN-M-HA (NUB-KARURA) II., 3 yrs. with Sesortosis I., and again with Sesortosis II. and Sesortosis III. (3a, b.)
- 3a. SSRTSN (SA-KHPR-RA) II., 48 yrs. alone,
- b. SSRTSN (SA-KARU-RA) III., 7 yrs. with Sesortosis III. } 55.

The tomb of Nevotp at Benihassan, with the 37 foreigners and tribute belongs to Sesortosis II.—Glass-blowing, the games of chess and morra—All the great works of this period executed by the Sesortosides were done by Sesortosis III., as well as the vast fortifications at the pass of the Nile at Semneh (Nubia). He is probably the same Sesortosis who was the author of the Canal system, of the Land-tax, and Apportionment of the Lands.

- 4a. AMN-M-HA (MA-N-RA, i.e. Mares = Mœris) III.

He built the Labyrinth and the adjoining pyramid, dammed off the Mœris lake, and erected the sluices.

- b. AMN-M-HA (MA-TU-RA) IV.

- c. SBK-NEFRU-RA, with no family name.

Thirteenth Dynasty.

The Empire is divided after the Sesortosides become extinct; for when, between 70 and 80 yrs. afterwards, the Amalekite Arabs (Malika) make an inroad into Egypt, they find "rulers, despots," whom they make tributary: they held, therefore, separate principalities, detached from the empire of Memphis.

3. He is called in Manetho's historical work (according to our emendation) Amuntimæus; which, therefore, must also be considered the right reading in Eratosthenes.

Corresponding Reigns:—

SHPT-HT-RA, Turin Pap. = S. HT-N-RA, Tablet of Karnak.

AUFNA

" "

and others; in all, 9 names.

B.

THE MIDDLE EMPIRE; OR THE EPOCH OF THE HYKSOS IN EGYPT.

(2547—1626.)

INTRODUCTION.

IN the Third Volume of this work I have submitted to a fresh and very detailed examination all the imaginable methods of calculating the duration of this Middle Empire. I have more especially gone into the objections to the two opposite views; the shorter duration adopted by Lepsius, and the longer once advocated by De Rougé. The former estimates the Hyksos dominion (xv. xvi.) at 511, and the Theban, prior to Amos (xvii.), at 151 years, or the two together, therefore, at 662. The latter seemed quite prepared to admit of even a term of 2000 years between the end of the Old and the beginning of the New Empire: it will amount to that at all events, supposing all the dynasties between the 13th and 17th to form part of a chronological series.

But, untenable as it would be chronologically, it would be no less so historically, to calculate the sum total of the two Hyksos dynasties and the Theban, or 17th ($260 + 511 + 151 = 922$), and to divide the period in such a manner as to make the New Empire begin with the 17th. It would then be necessary, in the first place, to understand the obscure words here coming after the heading "Seventeenth Dynasty" as referring to contemporary Hyksos Kings and Theban Pharaohs, and as the remainder of a summation of preceding reigns, and consequently as having been displaced. In that case, Manetho would have made an historical break there, and the prominence given by him to the 18th Dynasty

would be the mere caprice of the Christian biographers, who only made the new period to begin with Amos, instead of with the 17th Dynasty, because the Pharaohs of the Bondage and Exodus begin with him.

It is very true that there is some obscurity as to the meaning of the passage, but at all events the only way of explaining it is to suppose that it contains a retrospective summary of *all the kings of this whole period*, which Manetho therefore also brought to a close at the end of the 17th. During the Hyksos period there reigned "together" (i. e. the sum total according to the invariable meaning of the epilogus of the Lists) 43 Shepherd Kings and 143 Egyptians, Thebans, and Xoites. Now we have 6 + 32 Shepherd Kings: consequently during the reign of the independent Theban Pharaohs of the 17th Dynasty the names of only five Shepherd Kings were known.¹³³

¹³³ The assertion that, according to Manetho's calculation, there were probably 143 Egyptian Kings in this period is deduced from Manetho's dates in the following way:

Dynasty XIII.:	60,	Thebans:	accordingly we have, after deducting the 8 independent Pharaohs of that family, who belong to the Old Empire and correspond to the last 3 of Eratosthenes	-	52
Dynasty XIV.:	76,	Xoites	-	-	76
Dynasty XVII.:	(15),	Thebans	-	-	15
					143

We arrive, therefore, at this assumption without proposing any alteration in the text of this difficult passage in Manetho. We now know, from authentic monuments, that the 17th Dynasty (which at any rate could not consist of two heterogeneous, indeed hostile, races, Hyksos and Pharaohs) was Theban, and that it consisted of considerably more than 5 kings. Manetho's words in the "Appendix of Authorities" (Vol. I.) should therefore be restored as follows:

Ἑπτακαίδεκάτῃ δυναστείᾳ·

Διοσπολῖται βασιλεῖς (IE), οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἐτη PNA.

Ὅμοῦ οἱ ποιμένες MI, καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι (καὶ Ζοῖται) PMΓ.

The words with which it commences, ποιμένες ἄλλοι, βασιλεῖς, are

The monuments themselves are unintelligible, unless a long period of this kind, and a considerable series of reigns be assumed. We have in the Turin papyrus, in the tomb of Gurnah, and the tablet of Karnak, (none of which can contain any but Theban Kings of this period, either those of the 13th or 17th Dynasty,) so many authentic royal names, that we can fill up the whole number with them and others which are preserved on contemporary monuments. For the 17th we might even claim twenty scutcheons before the last five kings of that dynasty, which are accurately known as following in succession directly before Amôsis. In a system in which every prince of a family who bore the royal title is introduced, such numbers and discrepancies cannot be matter of surprise.

But, lastly, in this way we obtain a clear historical picture by means of the simple coordination of the Pharoahs and Shepherd Kings.

Pharaohs.		Hyksos.	
XIII. Dyn. Thebans :		XV. Dyn. 1. Hyksos :	
60 kings in 453 yrs.,		6 kings - - -	260
of which 53 (Apollodorus' continuation of the series of Eratosthenes) with about	350		
XIV. Dyn. Xoites :		XVI. Dyn. 2 Hyksos :	
76 kings - - -	484	32 kings - - -	511
XVII. Dyn. Thebans		Contemporary in	
at Thebes, 43 kings	151	Memphis: 43 kings	151
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	years 985		years 922

a repetition of the preceding words, and have no meaning here. The rest is merely misplaced. The number of the Theban Kings of the 17th Dynasty (1E, 15) corresponds almost exactly with the final letters of the preceding word (1Σ), and was merged in them. The epitomist omitted the Xoites altogether.

One can easily conceive that when the Pharaohs were tributary the reigns would be of shorter duration, on account of the probability of there being more frequent depositions, than among the powerful and united Arabs.

The proof of Manetho's dates of the Hyksos really representing the chronology, like those of the New Empire (in the 18th and 19th Dynasties the Lists are demonstrably disfigured by unmeaning epitomes), consists in the evidence adduced by us that upon no other assumption can the second Sothiac cycle (2785 or 2782) fall within the 11th Dynasty. The second book of Manetho commences with the 13th, as does the third with the 19th, in which it is admitted that the third Sothiac cycle began.

We have, therefore, three epochs of the Hyksos period.

First Epoch. XIII. Dynasty, continuation.—

First Hyksos dynasty (XV.) - - - 260

The Thebans tributary under native princes.

Second Epoch. XIV. Dynasty. — Second Hyksos

dynasty (XVI.) - - - 511

Upper Egypt is governed by tributary
Pharaohs, who were originally natives
of the Delta.

Third Epoch. XVII. Dynasty, Thebans. —

Third Hyksos dynasty - - - 151

Revolt headed by Theban princes.

Independence of Upper Egypt.

In this latter epoch the Hyksos are no longer entered as Imperial kings, *because the Thebaid had recovered its independence.* The Hyksos had still possession of Memphis, which they did not lose till the reign of Amos, the founder of the house of the Tuthmoses.

Hence we obtain the following chronological table:

<i>First Period.</i> First Hyksos dynasty			
(XV.), contemporaneously with			
the first Pharaonic dynasty (XIII.			
Thebans	-	-	- 260 yrs. 2547-2288
<i>Second Period.</i> Second Hyksos dynasty			
(XVI.), contemporaneously			
with the second Pharaonic dynasty			
(XIV. Xoites)	-	-	- 511 ,, 2287-1777

RULE OF SHEPHERD KINGS IN EGYPT.

922 Years: 2547 to 1626 B.C.

First Period.

Fifteenth Dynasty. (FIRST HYKSOS DYNASTY, ARABIAN.)

Conquest and Subjection of the whole of Egypt by the Amalika, or Amalekites, assisted by Philistæans.

260 years: 6 Kings. Average 43 years.
(2547—2288 B.C.)

		Yrs.	B. C.
I. Salatis (Salith, Hebr.) ¹³⁴	-	19	2547—2529
II. Buôn	- - -	44	2528—2485
III. Apakhnas	- - -	37	2484—2448
IV. Apôphis (APEPI) ¹³⁵	- -	61	2447—2387

¹³⁴ *Salatis* is undoubtedly a title, that of *Regent* (from the same Semitic root as the Arabic word *Sultan*), and denotes the same dignity which Joseph held, who is called *Schallî't*, Gen. xlii. 6. (See note to this verse in my Bible-work.)

¹³⁵ The name of this king, APEPI, written as the Hyksos king is written in a Papyrus, and having Seth in his title (worshipper of Seth?), has been discovered by Lepsius on a monument (226., comp. 225.).

Third Period. Third Pharaonic dynasty (XVII. Thebans), with Hyksos kings in Avaris - 151 yrs. 1776-1626

The following synopsis will show that these epochs and dates are neither arbitrary nor improbable. Each of them is filled up with royal names, the historical reality of which no sound critic can dispute, and the number of which agrees entirely with Manetho's dates of years as transmitted by Africanus.

Thirteenth Dynasty, THEBANS.

60 Kings (Man.): 453 years sum total of reigns, average length of reign $7\frac{1}{2}$ years; the 53 Kings of Apollodorus in 350 years + 87 (Erat. XIII. 1, 2, 3.), consequently 437 years, represent therefore the chronological value of the 453 years of Manetho.

Synopsis of the 30 Throne-names of Karnak (on the right side of the King's Chamber) compared with Eratosthenes, the Papyrus, and the Monuments.

TRANSITION: A Regent (Shallîth) governs under a Pharaoh.
(I.—III.)

I.	KA =	Eratosthenes, XXXVI. SIPHTAH -	5 yrs.
II. S. HT-N-RA =	„	XXXVII. PHUORO -	19
III. RA. S. ANKH. HT = „		XXXVIII. AMUNTI-MÆUS - -	63
<i>End of Old Empire.</i>			<hr/> 87

The Shepherds elect a King: tributary Pharaohs.

FIRST TRIBUTARY PERIOD. (IV.—XIV.)

In the Turin Papyrus there are four fragments, containing 33 Kings of this and the preceding Section of 87 years, and these represent at least 37 Kings' names, and probably many more. This is the age of the Sevekôphis and Nefruôphis.

IV. RA-HM-KHU-TTI. According to the Papyrus (Fr. VII. 76—79.): SBK-HPT (Sevekôphis I.).

V. (According to the Papyrus) RA-HM. S. HTT. TI: SBK-HPT (Sevekôphis II.).

VI. RA. SA . . . According to the Papyrus: NFRU-HPT (Nefruôphis I.).

V. Iannas	-	-	-	-	50	2386—2337
VI Asses	-	-	-	-	49	2336—2288

The names are of course Arabic. Lepsius writes (according to the orthography of the Armenian text of Eusebius) *Banon*, *Apachnan*, *Anan*, *Aseth*. As to the chronology, the question arises whether Manetho counted in his chronological system the first three reigns of the 13th Dynasty (according to Eratosthenes 87 years) apart, or whether he made them run parallel with the end of the 12th, or with the first epoch of the 13th. As he begins his 15th Dynasty with the Shallith, the second supposition is the more probable.

Second Period.

Sixteenth Dynasty. (SECOND HYKSOS DYNASTY, PALESTINIAN.)

Supremacy of the Philistæans.

511 Years. 32 Kings: Average 16 years.
(2287—1777 B.C.)

- VII. RA . SA . NFRU, according to the Papyrus: SBK-HPT (Sevekôphis III.).
- VIII. (According to the Papyrus) RA . SA . KARU. According to the Monuments: NFRU-HPT (Nefruôphis II.).
- IX. RA . SA-ANKH. According to the Monuments: SBK-HPT (Sevekôphis IV.).
- XIV. RA-MR-KARU (likewise on a monument in Upper Egypt).

The following royal scutcheons of Karnak may belong to the 14th Dynasty of Xoites: at all events, the number of extant scutcheons in the fragments of the Papyrus is too great for the remainder of the 13th and the 17th.

LATER PERIOD OF THE TRIBUTARY STATE.

(Karnak, XV.—XXX.)

- XVII. RA-KHM-HT . SAU. According to a monument in the Thebaid: SBK-M-SA . F.
- XXI. RA-MR-HPT (also in the Papyrus).
- XXVIII. S . HT-N-RA.
- XXIX. RA . S . NFRU.
- XXX. RA

The numerous scutcheons in the Turin Papyrus, which cannot represent less than from 36 to 38 Kings, and most probably a much larger number, belong to this Section. We are not to suppose that in every instance there is only one name wanting between the different fragments. Of these the most remarkable is the Eighth, containing 8 Kings, which appear to correspond to those from X.—XII. or X.—XIV. at Karnak. The regnal years of the first seven of them are preserved.

	Yrs.	Mo.	Days.
RA SA HPT (Kar. X.). On contemporary monuments, SBKHPT V. - - - - -	4	8	27
RA UAH HT AHT - - - - -	10	8	28
RA MR-NFRU (perhaps Kar. XI., RA SNFRU)	23	8	18
RA MR HPT. - - - - -	2	2	7
RA S . ANKH-NSHTU - - - - -	3	2	0
RA MR ANKH ANKA - - - - -	3	1	0
RA SNAB KAR HRA - - - - -	5	8	0
	53	3	20

The average length of reign, therefore, was 7 years, 7 months, and 16 days.

This is a remarkable corroboration of our assumption, that the reigns of the tributary Pharaohs were considerably shorter than the ordinary average in the state of independence; whereas the average of those of the Second Hyksos Dynasty is considerably higher than that of the Pharaohs of the Old Empire.

Third Period.*Seventeenth Dynasty, THEBANS.*

*Struggle and Independence of the Thebans contemporaneously with
a Third Hyksos Dynasty at Memphis.*

(1776—1626 B.C.)

Theban Kings at Thebes (independent) - - 151 yrs.

Hyksos at Memphis contemporaneously.

(Probable sum of Hyksos kings, 43 (6+32+5).

Independently of the five reigns represented on the tomb at Gurnah, the last of which is proved to be the immediate predecessor of Amos, there are ten other scutcheons in the Papyrus which belong to this period.

We may designate this Dynasty as that of Mentu-ôphis; for his memory stands preeminent in the New Empire. Probable succession:

RA KHRU-NB MNTU-HPT

RA NB S.PN

RA SN KA-MS

AAH-HPT

RA SKNN N AT-AA-KN.

In summing up the whole discussion about the Hyksos time, we may say that Manetho counted for the period between the Old Empire and the New 260 + 511 + 151 years, in three dynasties, the 15th and 16th Shepherd Kings, and the 17th independent Theban Kings, who, however, had not retaken Memphis. There cannot have been any parallelism between the 15th and 16th; there was one certainly between the 16th and 17th. Manetho says himself that there were other Hyksos at that time, but he evidently takes no chronological account of them from the moment that the Theban Kings declared themselves independent. The only parallelism possible then is that between the end of the 12th Dynasty and the beginning of the 15th, and we have already stated that as his first Shepherd King is called "Regent," we must suppose that the first year of that Salatis was the next to the last year of the 12th. His chronology must then have stood thus:

Last year of Hyksos, the year before Amos (18th Dyn.) B.C. 1626

Duration of their rule in Memphis, 922 yrs., 1st yr. 2547

12th Dynasty, regnal years 245: sum according

to Turin Papyrus, and Latin extract of Africanus 213

First year of 12th Dyn. - 2760

11th Dyn. Last year 2762: duration 43: 1st year - - 2803

C.

THE NEW EMPIRE, FROM AMOS TO NECTANEBO II.

(1625—340 B.C.)

SYNOPSIS OF THE PERIODS.

First Period. The Restoration, or Empire of the Tuthmoses: XVIII. Dynasty: time of the withdrawal of the Shepherds, and the bondage of the Israelites.

Second Period. The Rise and Fall, or Empire of the Sethos-Ramessides: XIX. Dynasty: time of the Exodus of the Israelites.

Third Period. Fresh Restoration and Downfall: the Empire of the Second Ramessides and the First Tanites: XX., XXI. Dynasties: time of the supremacy of the Assyrians and decline of the royal houses of Thebes.

Fourth Period. Restoration by Sheshonk and Downfall: XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. Dynasties: time of the first wars with Judah and the dominion of the Ethiopians.

Fifth Period. Last Restoration: the Psammetici: XXVI. Dynasty.

Sixth Period. The Rule of the Persians: revolts and decay: XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX. Dynasties.

First Period.*The Tuthmoses: Eighteenth Dynasty, THEBANS.*

9 Kings — 216 Years.

(Seven generations; average almost 31 years.)

(1625—1410 B. C.)

(Lepsius, Book of Kings, 315—411.)

GENEALOGY OF THE TUTHMOSES.

Aahmes. — Nefruari (L. Nephris)

(I.)

Set-Amen,	Aah-hept,	Amenhept (I.),	Aahmes,	Thothmes (I.)
daughter	daughter.	(II.)	daughter	(III.)
(err. Amense).			(regent)	
(Amessis in Manetho).				

Thothmes (II.)	Hat-asu Khnumet-Amen, as regent: Ma-kar-ra Khnumet-Amen (Misptra).	Thothmes (III.) (V.)
		Amenhept (II.) (VI.)
		Thothmes (IV.) (VII.)
		Amenhept (III.) (VIII.)
		Her (IX.) dies without male issue.

SYNOPSIS OF THE KINGS.

- I. Amôsis (RA - NB - PEH,
AAH - MS) - - - 25 yrs. (xxii.) 1625—1601

Marries Aahmes Nefruari, the heiress, of Ethiopian descent. — Down to his 5th year at war with the Hyksos, whom he shuts up in Tanis. — Makes the Ethiopians (Kesh) tributary. — In his 22nd year erects buildings at Memphis.

- II. Amenôphis I. (RA SR-KA,
AMN-HPT) - - - 13 yrs. 1600—1588

Conquers the Northern races.

- III. Tuthmôsis I. (RA AA-
KHPR-KA, TTMS) - - 21 yrs. 1587—1567

(Manetho makes Amessis, the sister of Amen, regent in her husband's stead.) Restoration and rebuilding of the Palace of the Sesortosidæ (Karnak). — Conqueror of the Nine Bows. — Building at Assasif.

- IV. Tuthmôsis II. (RA AA
N-KHPR, TTMS) - - 22 yrs, 1566—1545

(Makarra-Misphra regent, at least till the 16th year after the death of Tuthmosis I. — She erects the most beautiful of the Obelisks in the court of the building of her father (XVI).

The Shepherds are driven back to Avaris.

(Josephus, from Manetho.)

- V. Tuthmôsis III. (RA MN
KHPR, TTMS) - - - 26 yrs. (xlvii.) 1544—1519

He reckoned his regnal years from the death of his father, consequently 48.

Withdrawal of the Shepherds: at latest in the 5th year of his reign (27 after his father's death) - - - 1540

Campaign to Asia (5th campaign, 29 years after his father's death) - - 1538

Further campaigns, 12 yrs. 1537—1526

Mesopotamia (Naharaina) and Mauretania (Ludim) conquered.

Probable commencement of the great buildings (Karnak, Medinet-Habu, Amada). *Commencement of the oppression of the Israelites* (215 years before 1320, Exodus) - - - - - 1535

Tenth year of his reign: at soonest from 1539 = sixth year of his reign, which would give 219 years of oppression - - - - -

VI. Amenôphis II. (RA AA KHPRU, AMNHPT) - - 9 yrs. (IV.) 1518—1510

Subdues the Princes of the Rtnnu (Ludim). Completes his father's buildings at Amada.

VII. Tuthmôsis IV. (RA MN KHPRU, AMNHPT) - - 31 yrs. (VII.) 1509—1479

Small temple by the great Sphinx-Pyramid. Buildings at Karnak and Amada, where the conquest of Kush is mentioned.—Inroad into the land of the Tesh.—The Libyan Shepherds tributary.

VIII. Amenophis III. (RA MA NB, AMNHPT) - - - 37 yrs. (xxxvi.) 1478—1442

Marriage fêtes. — “The frontiers of Egypt, on the north, Naharaina; on the south, the land of the Karai.”—Rtnnu and Libyans tributary. 11th year - - 1468

The gigantic figure in the Amenophium (vocal Memnon). Amenophium-Palace of Luxor.

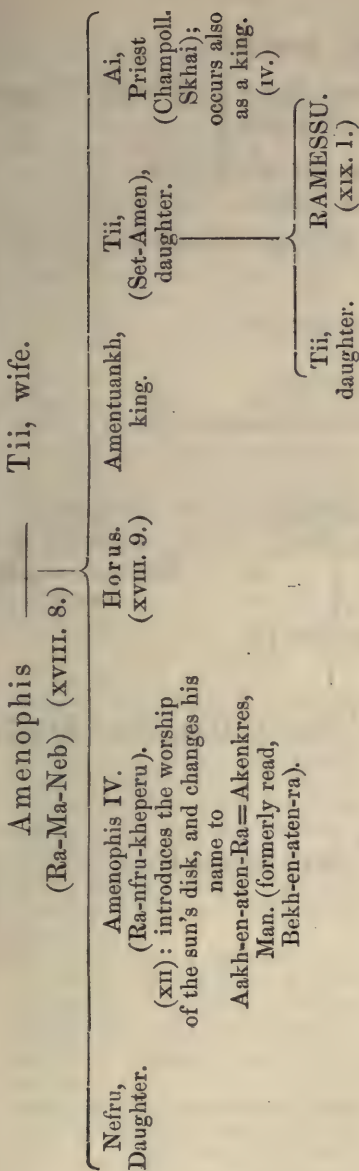
IX. Horus (RA SR KHPRU STP-N-RA, HR) - - 32 yrs. (VII.) 1441—1410

Temple at the Second Cataract; buildings at Karnak and Luxor.—The king takes to communication with the Gods. The Empire falls into decay—Rival Kings in the south.—Amenôphis IV. (6th year), elder brother, and two other brothers and sisters (see the following Genealogy).

Dies without male issue.

As to the duration of his reign, 32 years have been preferred to the number formerly assigned to him by us. In the lists of Africanus the three last regnal numbers that come under consideration are 31, 37, 32.

GENEALOGY OF THE POSTERITY OF AMENOPHIS III.



It is not capable of positive proof that the Queen Tii, formerly read Titi, from the resemblance to Manetho's names Rathôtis or Rathôs, was really the daughter of Amenophis III.; but it is very probable that she was. She is called "Royal daughter, sister, mother, wife," which is unintelligible on any other supposition. In Manetho's name Rathôtis (in Josephus), the last syllable is an Egyptian name. Ra-Thotis is perhaps Ra-Set (Amen). Both in Josephus and Africanus it stands between the Akenkres names (Amenophis VI.), and it is followed by Ramesses. It is upon this that the assumption is based of Ramessu I. being the son of Tii. The 18th and 19th Dynasties, therefore, were connected by a royal daughter, as were the 17th and 18th.

Second Period.*The Seti-Ramessides, or the First House of Ramesses: THEBANS.*

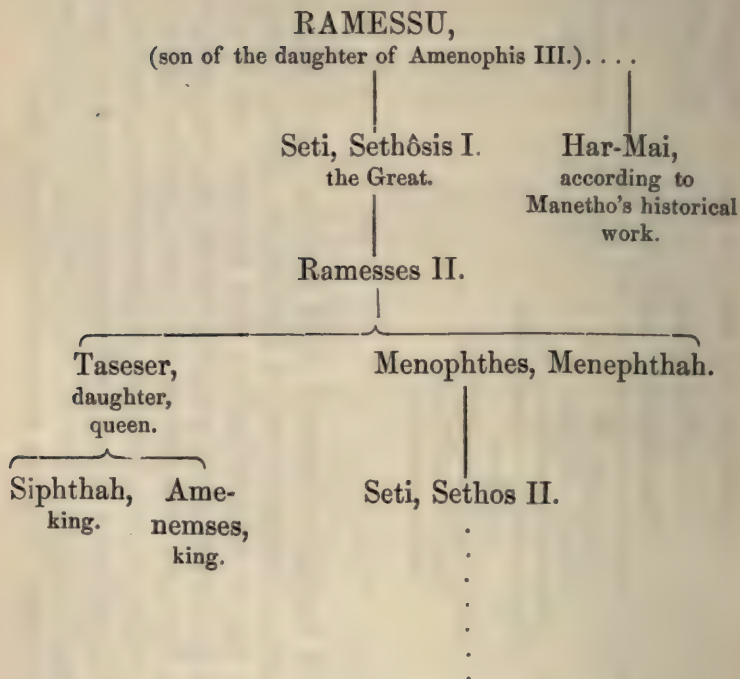
5 Kings—110 Years.

(Five generations; average 21 years.)

(1409—1300.)

(Lepsius, Book of Kings, 414—486.)

GENEALOGY.



LIST OF THE KINGS.

- I. **Ramesses I. (RA MEN PEH, RA-MS-SU)** - - - 6 yrs. (Joseph.) 1409—1404
 Tomb at Biban el Moluk, without ornament.— Decoration of the Temple of Hor-Ammon at Wadi-Halfa.
- II. **Sethô's I., the Great (RA MN MA, STI, MRI-N-PTAH)-** 9 yrs. (I.) 1403—1391
 The great king of the House of Ramesses, and the successful conqueror. His brother is the Armais of Manetho, the treacherous viceroy. Sethos carried on a war of conquest for 6 years in Asia, and subjugated Cyprus, the Phenicians, Assyrians, and Medes. In the celebrated Hall of Columns at Karnak, and on his tomb, mention is made of the following conquered people: Rtnnu (Ludim), Shasu (Palestinian shepherds), the Kheta, the Libyan shepherds; where also is recorded the erection of the double wall against the "Unclean" (Palestinians and Arabs). The buildings, therefore, probably date from the three latter years of his reign.
- III. **Ramesses II. (improperly called the Great) (RA-SSR-MA SATP-EN-RA MI AMN RA-MS-SU)** - - 66 yrs. (LXIV.) 1390—1324
 1—2 years of reign, Conquests, according to the monuments, over the Negroes and the people of Kesh (Ethiopians), Libyans, Kheta (Hittites), Naharaina.
 5th year, Campaign against the Kheta 1386
 22nd and 23rd year, War and treaty } 1369
 with the same - - - - - } 1368
 Buildings at Karnak, the Propylæa with the two Colossi at Luxor, Court and Pylon, two Colossi, two Obelisks, the Ramesseum.
 The Rock-Temple at Ipsambul and at Beit-oualli.— Completion of the protecting wall on the north.— Canal to the Red Sea.— Commencement of the buildings, and of the more cruel treatment of the Israelites, probably in his 24th year - - - - - 1367
 Moses born during the period of oppression, consequently, at the earliest, in 1368: he was therefore forty-seven at the Exodus (1320).
 The erection of the buildings lasted till 62nd year - - - - - 1329

IV. Menophthah (BA-N-RA

MRI-N-AMN MN-P'TAH) 20 yrs. (IV.) 1324—1305

Canicular-cycle commences in year 3 - 1322

Was driven out of the country for 13
years (son 5 years;) then reconquered
Egypt, from Ethiopia, with his son of 18
(Sethos II.): probable beginning of
exile, 3d year of his reign - - 1320

Exodus in the same year in which the
Palestinians made the inroad and ex-
pelled Menophthah, consequently - 1320

Twelfth year after his expulsion - - 1308

Year of the Restoration (14th after his
flight). - - - - - 1307

Last year of his reign - - - 1305

V. Sethos II. (RA SSR KHRU

MRI-AMN, STI) - - 5 yrs. (II.) 1304—1300

The following passage of a hymn addressed to Ammon by Ramses III., and published by De Rougé (Stele, p. 189), from a hieratic papyrus, proves that he was a king's son, and therefore not the founder of a new dynasty:

I am established on the throne of my father,

In like manner as thou hast established Horus on the throne of
Osiris :

I have not usurped the place of another.

Now Setnekht (commonly called Sethos III.) defaced the scutcheons of Sethos II. in the tomb of that king, and therefore considered him as his enemy, whereas the same Setnekht is represented as receiving homage together with Ramses III. Wilkinson's statement, on the strength of which Setnekht, as son of a king, was considered by me first as the head of the 20th Dynasty, is consequently quite correct. But the 185 years given in the third volume to this dynasty must be maintained; for it is too evident that the real number of Africanus, (185 instead of 135) is but the Eusebian number (178) with the addition of the 7 years of the founder, given at the end of the 19th Dynasty. We must therefore account otherwise for the 7 years wanting in our chronological system, and this must be done without disturbing the two cardinal points: the Sothic year 1322 must fall in the reign of Menophthah, and the last campaign of Ramses III. into Palestine must fall before the year 1250, which is, according to the Biblical accounts, the 41st of the Exodus, or the epoch of Joshua's passage of the Jordan. In fact, applying the change only to such regnal years as remain doubtful in our tables, we find exactly the required seven years by giving Horus 32 instead of 31, Sethos I. 9 instead of 12, Pusemes I. 46 instead of 41, without any change of the regnal years of the lists, and in concordance with those two epochs.

Third Period.

The Miamun-Ramessides, or Second House of Ramesses, and the First Tanites: or the Supremacy of the Ninyads.

(Lepsius, Book of Kings, 487–530.)

Twentieth Dynasty, THEBANS.

12 Kings : 185 Years.

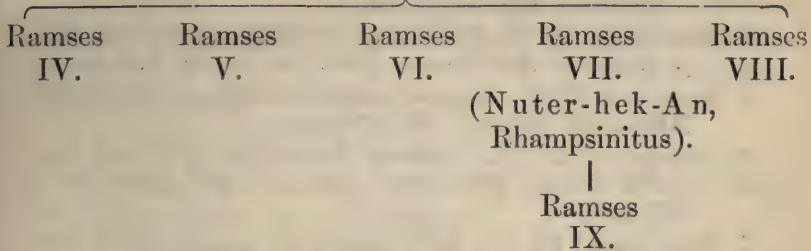
(1299—1115),

in seven, at most eight, generations (average 24 to 26½ years).

GENEALOGY

Setnekht the Nile (Miamun).

|
Ramses III., Son.
(Hek-pen).



In the case of the later kings, we are still unable to settle the genealogy: their order of succession is for the most part established beyond all dispute by the Apis inscriptions, which state the name of each king in whose reign a sacred bull was born or died. They have also recorded an important historical fact, namely, that the Ramesside family was overthrown by Herhor, high priest of Ammon, chief of the palace and of the army, who after the death of Ramses XIII, takes the title of King of the two Lands. He is the father of Piankh (xxi. 1.) father of xxii. 2. This makes the character of the succeeding dynasty intelligible. Compare De Rougé (Stele, p. 184. fol.). Considering with Lepsius one of the Ramessides (Ra-Mama Miamun) to be a later variant of Hikma Miamun, that is, of Ramessu IV., we have exactly 12 kings: Setnekht, the founder of the dynasty, and 11 Ramessides (III—XII.). Otherwise we must take 12 as the number of the Ramessides, and give 13 kings to the dynasty, which is just possible.

In the following synopsis, reference is made to the list of kings of this dynasty in Vol. II. p. 628.

THE SUCCESSION OF THE KINGS.

1. Setnekht (Diod., Setna, Herod., Pheron = Phuorô = Nile),
(MRR-RA, ST-NKHT, MRR-AMN), 7 years, 1299—1293.
2. Ramesses III (L. *Hikten*) (RA SSR-MA
MSSU SATP N-AMNRA HK AN, Hek
An=Regent of Heliopolis?) (xvi.) - - - 1292
12th Year: Last Campaign - - - 1281
Conquests in Kanaan and Phœnicia (Tyre),
taking of Damascus — He also conquers
the Ethiopians.
13th Year: building commenced - - - 1280
Two Palaces at Medinet-Habu. According
to Herodotus, he added to the temple of
Ptah. His gorgeous tomb has no historical
sculptures.
3. Ramesses IV. (L. *Hikma-Miamun*) RA SSR MA, SATP-
N-AMN (Ramess. MRI AMN HK MA).
His throne-name, also, according to Lepsius, as a later variant,
Ra Mama Miamun (504. bis.).
4. Ramesses V. (L. *Amunhichopschef-Miamun*) RA SSR MA,
S. KHPR-N-RA (Ramess. AMN HK KHPS, MRI-AMN).
5. Ramesses VI. (L. *Amunhichopschef-Nuterhikten*) RA NB MA,
MRI-AMN (Ramess. HK-NTR-AN.)
6. Ramesses VII. (L. *Atamun Nuterhikten*) RA SSR MA,
SATP-N-RA, MRI-AMN (Ramess. AT-AMN, NTR
HK AN).
7. Ramesses VIII. (L. *Sethichopschef-Miamun*) RA SSR MA,
AAKH-N-AMN (Ram. AMN HR KHPS, MRI-ST) (xvii.)
8. Ramesses IX. (L. *Chaem... Miamun*) RA NFR KAR,
SATP-N-RA (Ramess. SA-N-RA, MRI AMN).
(3rd year, according to Mariette.)
9. Ramesses X. (L. *Amunhichopschef*) RA KHPR MA, SATP-
N-RA (Ramess. MRI AMN).
(2nd year, according to Mariette.)
10. Ramesses XI. (L. *Siptah*) RA SSR-N-SAU, MRI AMN
(Ramess. SI-PTAH).
11. Ramesses XII. (L. *Miamun*) RA SSR MA, SATP-N-RA
(Ramess. MRI AMN).
(33rd year, according to the stele at Paris.)
12. Ramesses XIII. (L. *Miamun Nuterhikten*). RA-MN MA,
SATP-N-PTAH (Ramess. NTR-HK-AN).
(17th year, according to Mariette. The last year reigned
is - - - - - 1115)

The Twenty-first Dynasty, TANITES.

7 Kings: 135 Years.

(1114—980.)

(Lepsius, Book of Kings, 531—566.)

- I. Smendes (Si-Bai-n-tet, Son
of Ammon-Bai-n-tet (the
Goat of Tatu, Osiris),
Brugsch ?) (SI AMN
HR-HoR, High Priest) - 26 yrs. 1114 — 1089
- II. Pusemes I. (PI-SM), Euseb.
and Sync. XLI. Afric. XLVI. 46 „ 1088 — 1043
(Before him comes PI-ANKH,
but only as high priest.)
- III. Nephherkheres (read Men-
kheperes) (MN - KHPR-
RA) - - - - 4 „ 1042 — 1039
- IV. Menophthes - - - - 9 „ 1038 — 1030
- V. Osokhor - - - - 6 „ 1029 — 1024
- VI. Phinakes I. (PTUKHA-
NU), (found by Lepsius
on bricks in Sais) - - 9 „ 1023 — 1015
- VII. Pusemes II. (PI-SM) ac-
cording to Eusebius and
Syncellus - - - - 35 „ 1014 — 980
- Solomon (1007 — 969) marries 135 years (sum total of
an Egyptian princess, probably Afr. and Sync. 130.)
the daughter of Pusemes II.
- HoR PTUKHANU II. (L.
565.) is a king left out
by Manetho.

According to the monuments we have eight kings instead of the seven of Manetho: he omitted the eighth as merely a pretender. We learn from this circumstance that after the death of Pusemes II. a struggle for the throne took place between the high priests of Tanis and the Bubastite Princes.

Fourth Period.

The Restoration, the Decline, and Rule of the Ethiopians.

(Dyn. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV.)

This period, in consequence of Mariette's discoveries of the Apis tombs in the Serapeum, which have produced such a vast amount of chronological data from the records of the birth, age, and year of death of the sacred bulls, is beset with fresh difficulties. But, here again, I think that philological and historical criticism may claim a triumph. They alone can render the contemporary monuments, which are silent on historical topics, useful for the restoration of the real chronology. Manetho's data give this chronology: the correction of individual dates by the notices of regnal years and other definitions of time must here again obey the ordinary rules of criticism. But at the same time three Jewish synchronisms require attention:

Rehoboam (fifth year) with Sesak, Sheshonk I.
(22nd Dynasty);

Asa with Serakh (Osorkon) his successor; and
Hosea, king of Israel, with Sevekh (25th Dyn.).

Now we can account for them without any transposition of dynasties, or other violent means, which some eminent Egyptologists have found it necessary to employ in support of their chronological systems. We find a division of Egypt only during the first three reigns of the Psammetici.

The Twenty-second Dynasty, BUBASTITES.

9 Kings: 166 Years.

(979—814.)

(Lepsius, Book of Kings, 567—611.)

Down to the time when Mariette made his discoveries in the Serapeum the criticism of Manetho's Lists, as compared with the monuments, was as follows:

Manetho mentions nine reigns, but the third, fourth, and fifth are summed up together, and no names of kings are given. This is also the case with the last three. Thus we get four chronological groups :

A. First group : I. and II. reigns.

1. Sesonkhis - 21 years (regnal years xxii.).
2. Osorkon - 15

B. Second group : III., IV., V. reigns.

No names, altogether 25 years.

The monuments furnished no clue for testing this group, but internal probability led me to the conclusion that the reading should be 35 years instead of 25.

C. Third group : VI., Takelôthis : 13 years (regnal years xiv.) Consequently we may suppose that it ought to be 23 instead of 13.

D. Fourth group : VII., VIII., IX. No names, altogether 42 years.

The result of Lepsius' researches is that Osorkon III. and Sheshonk III. stood first and second in this latter group : the highest regnal year of the former is supposed to be xi., of the latter xxix. This led to a correction of the tens, 52 instead of 42.

The sum total of Manetho's reigns therefore, 116, cannot be right. The first date, that of Sheshonk I. 21 years, may be explained by supposing, that if he died at about the same early month of the year (his 22nd), as that in which his accession took place, only 21 years would have been assigned to him in the chronology. We do not therefore require 24 ($\overline{K\Delta}$ instead of \overline{KA}).

Now Manetho makes the length of the 22nd dynasty 120 years. But this entry is not entitled to more confidence than the sum total of the separate dates (116). It is equally impossible, according to the monumental dates just exhibited, which require above

136 years; we have therefore full liberty to give to the dynasty that duration which is most conformable to the monuments, and to the Jewish and Assyrian synchronisms. It must, besides, be compatible with two special synchronisms:

1. The great epochal year of the first Olympiad, 776 B.C., must fall within the reign of Petubastes (Petsibastes), the founder of the next dynasty;

2. The year 664 being the first of Psamtik VI. (a consequence of 526 being the year of the Persian conquest), 665 must be the last year of Tirhaka.

The following shows the succession and dynastic connexion, as given by Mariette in the "*Bulletin Archéol. de l'Athén. Franç.*" 1855, No. 11. The name of Lepsius in the parentheses marks the place assigned by him to the kings in his adjustment of the separate reigns, laid before the Royal Academy at Berlin, whenever he adopted them at all. The final arrangement of the Book of the Kings has also in this case been marked and adopted.

Sheshonk I. Miamun, Grandmother Karoamat (L. 565.)
 I. K. (Leps. 1.) Grandfather Namurot (L. 570.)

Osorkon I.
 II. K. (Leps. 2.)

Her-sha-seb.
 III. K.

Osorkon II.
 IV. K. (Leps. 4.) (Si-bast.)

Queen Keromama.

Sheshonk II.
 V. K. (Leps. 5.)

General Nimrot.
 (L. Nemurot.)

Takelôthis I.
 VI. K. (Leps. 3.)

Queen Keromama (II.)
 (L. Karoamat.)

Osorkon III.
 VII. K.

Sheshonk III.
 VIII. K. (Leps. 7.)

Takelôthis II.
 IX. K. (Leps. 6.)

(Royal Mother Meh-en-usekh.)

Pikhi
 X. K. (Leps. 8.)

Sheshonk IV.
 XI. K. (Leps. 9.)

Here, therefore, we have in the first place two supernumerary kings; then the suspicious repetition of Queen Keromama (a second Nimrot also occurs): and lastly, as we shall shortly see, a vast deal of superfluous and impossible time.

I append Lepsius' corrected list according to the genealogy which he sent me in MS., with the entry of the highest regnal years. In order to make it intelligible it must be borne in mind that the throne name of one of the Takeluts was not previously known. Mariette calls him Takelut II. Lepsius, who has found his throne name (Satep-n-Amen), has entered him as the third king and as Takelut I.: his Takelut II. (the sixth king) is consequently the one heretofore considered Takelut I., and Lepsius' Takelut II. is Mariette's ninth king.

A.	I.	Sheshonk I.	-	-	-	xxii. years.
	II.	Osorkon I.				
B.	III.	Takelut I.				
	IV.	Osorkon II.	-	-	-	xxiii.
	V.	Sheshonk II.	-	-	-	xv.
C.	VI.	Takelut II.	-	-	-	xiv.
D.	VII.	Sheshonk III.	-	-	-	xxix.
	VIII.	Pikhi	-	-	-	ii.
	IX.	Sheshonk IV.	-	-	-	xxxvii.

About the *First* Group there is nothing to record. We have therefore

	Yrs.	Chron.
I. Sheshonk I. (may be 24)	- 21	1 — 21
II. Osorkon I., his son	- 15	22 — 36

The *Second* Group gives us three reigns in direct descent: the sum total of IV. and V. amounts to 38. If we do not abandon Manetho's date altogether, we must read \overline{ME} (45) instead of \overline{KE} (25): which therefore gives at most 7 years for Takelut I. Therefore III., IV., and V. together - 45 35 — 79

The *Third* Chronological Group (VI.) is occupied by Takelut II., who corresponds perfectly with the Takelôthis of Manetho. The 14th year is still the highest, which does not make it necessary to reject Manetho's 13 (see above): consequently 13 (14) 13 80 — 92

After Takelôthis II. the direct descent is broken off. Osorkon III., who died before coming to the throne, is omitted. Sheshonk III. therefore is the first of the *Fourth* Group. He was not descended from his predecessor, nor had any immediate connexion with his successor Pikhi (VIII.): the latter, however, is father of the last king. Here a fact is stated, that an Apis born in the 28th year of Sheshonk III. (IV., Mariette) died in the second year of Pikhi, aged 26. We must therefore assume that Sheshonk III. reigned 51 or 52 years

(27 + 24 or 25). The lowest dates therefore are :

Sheshonk III.	(51) - 52	} 90 at least.	Yrs.	Chron.
Pikhi, at least	(1) - 2		91	93 — 183
Sheshonk IV., at least	37			

If the sum total of the dynasty was according to Manetho a round number (120), we must assume at least 190 ($\overline{\text{P}\overline{\text{Q}}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{P}\text{K}}$). At all events 150 which we proposed, and which was thought too bold a change, is insufficient in itself, supposing the above regnal years to have formed a chronology. But these entries of the birth and death of the second, third, and fourth Apis, are direct proofs that they cannot have done so. According to Mariette (p. 94.) Apis II. died in the 14th year of Takelôthis I. (i. e. Takelôthis II. the sixth king). Apis III. died in the 28th year of Sheshonk III. (idem): therefore, according to the above chronology, he would have lived to the age of 28.

Now there is no instance of an Apis having completed even 26 years, that is, computing them from his admission into the shrine. The instance of one of them having exceeded by a few months the Apis-Period of 25 years is a positive argument against their having reached a greater age. Some of these reigns must therefore have been collateral. This applies, at all events, to those of Takelut II. and Sheshonk III. But since it appears that the reign of Sheshonk III. lasted at all events 51 or 52 years, Pikhi's reign may have been likewise comprised in it: his throne-name is simply the throne-name of Sheshonk III. We assume that the 25 years assigned by Manetho to the three reigns (IV. V. VI.) represent the chronology. The 42, which in our extracts stand as the sum total of the last three reigns, we take to be 52 ($\overline{\text{N}\text{B}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{M}\text{B}}$), namely, the date of the reign of Sheshonk III.

Hence we obtain the following minimum:

	Yrs.	Chron.
I. Sheshonk I. (may be 24 : mon. XXII.)	21	1— 21
II. Osorkon I. " - - -	15	22— 36
III. IV. V. (Taketot I., Osorkon II., Sheshonk II.) - - - -	25	37— 61
VI. Taketot II. (may be 14 : mon. XIV.)	13	62— 74
VII. Sheshonk III. - - - -	52	75—126
VIII. (Pikhi, co-regent, at least some months more than 1 year) - }	36	127—162
IX. Sheshonk IV. - - - }		

162 years.

But this minimum is in itself highly improbable: can the highest monumental year be in every instance the last? At all events, it is impossible historically. 162 years (from 979) brings us only down to 818, and the dynasty must last, at least, to 816, for otherwise the great epochal year (first Olympiad, 776) does not fall within the 40 years of the reign of the first king of the 23rd dynasty, which Manetho expressly says it did. The extension to 816 would bring it just to the last year of that reign. But then we cannot bring the end of the Ethiopians (25th Dyn.) lower down than 669, and still the next year, the first of Psamtik, must be 664, if the Persian conquest is to remain fixed at 526. We must therefore give to the 22nd Dyn. *exactly* 166 years, 8 years less than Lepsius has assumed in his Book of the Kings (174). As to the duration of the single reigns, the following arrangement seems to me the most natural:

		The Twenty second Dynasty: 9 Kings, 168 years.	Manetho, and highest regnal year.	Chronology.
I.	Sheshonk I.	RA HUT KHPR, SATP-N- RA (MRI-N-AMN SSNKH) (The Sisak of Scripture.) Conquers Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam, consequently, 964 = 6th year of Sheshonk. Buildings at Karnak with "Judah Malk," consequently not before the 17th yr.	24 - XXII	1—24 979—956
II.	Osorkon I.	RA SSR MA, SATP-N-AMN (MRI-N-AMN UASAR- KAN) - - - - Asa, King of Judah (948—908) slays Zera'h, king of the Ethio- pians, about his 3rd year = 946 = Osorkon's 13th.	15	25—29 955—941
III.	Takelothis I.	RA HUT, SATP-N-AMN, NTR HKTM (TKRT)	25 - XXIII	40—64 940—916
IV.	Osorkon II.	RA SSR MA, SATP-N-RA (MRI-AMN, UASARKAN)		
V.	Sheshonk II.	RA HUT KHPR, SATP- N-AMN (MRI-N-AMN SSNK) - - - -		
VI.	Takelothis II.	RA HUT KHPR, SATP- N-RA (MRI-N-AMN, SA- PKHT, TKRT) - - -	14 - XIV	65—78 915—902
VII.	Sheshonk III.	RA SSR MA, SATP-N- AMN (MRI AMN, SA PKHT, SSNK) - - -	52 XXIX	79—126 901—850
VIII.	Pikhi.	RA SSR MA, SATP-N- AMN (MRI-N-AMN PIKHI) - - - -		
IX.	Sheshonk IV.	RA AA KHPR (SSNK MRI- AMN) - - - -	36 XXXVII	127—166 849—814

Twenty-third Dynasty, the SECOND TANITE.

4 Kings : 89 Years.

(813—725.) (L. 612—614.)

	Years.	Chron.
I. Petubastes (PT-SI-PAKHT)	- 40 :	813—774
(Petsibast.) 38th year = 1st Ol.		
II. Osorkon III. (UASARKHAN)	- 8 :	773—766
III. Psammûs (P.SI.MUT)	- 10 :	765—756
IV. Zêt (Si-Het, Son of Horus?)	- 31 :	755—725

Manetho's spelling of the last name proves that it was not a Seti, formed from that of the God Set, and invariably written Sethôs and Sethôsis in the records of the 19th Dynasty. Hat, Het, is the name of Horus as the God of Edfu: the spelling with Z is more correct as an indication of the inexpressible H in the middle. Zet may also be the HT (heart) in the royal names of the Psammetici. This Zet is the Sethôs of Herodotus, king and high priest of Ptah, the last of the 23rd Dynasty. We have already explained in the First and Third Books the mistake of Herodotus, who places him after the Ethiopians.¹³⁶ At the reign of Sethôs-Zet the priests made a break: they gave the dates of the kings and high priests from the beginning down to him. We have similar summaries as early as the Old Empire, which are always made at the close of a dynasty where there is a historical break. Now in Herodotus the last group before the Psammetici consists of three names, placed in inverse order, the first last, the last first.

1. The Man of Anysis (the Saite, 26th Dynasty), who fled into the marshes from the Ethiopians (25th Dynasty), that is, in the time of the last of the Ethiopian kings, not of the first. The first vanquished Bokchoris (24th) and terminated the contest by taking Thebes by storm.

2. Sabakon means the Ethiopian rule (25th Dyn.), to which Herodotus assigns 50 years, and makes the period close with the last king of that dynasty (Tirhaka), whom

¹³⁶ Book I. 105—109. ; Book III. 594.

Manetho does not enumerate at all. He is not in contradiction with Herodotus: his real date for the dynasty (52 years) confirms the date of the latter: and there is nothing in his arrangement of dynasties which prevents us from assuming as historical the coexistence of the Saite rulers before Psamtik with the latter part of Tirhaka's reign. History indeed forces this arrangement upon us. Tirhaka must have maintained himself at Thebes, and even at Memphis, during the struggle. To assume that his reign and those of his two predecessors are not to be counted in the chronology, or that their authority never extended beyond Upper Egypt, seems to contradict Manetho (with Diodorus and Strabo) as well as the Bible.

3. Sethôs, the enemy of the warrior caste, whom the Gods miraculously preserved from the invasion of the Assyrians (23rd Dyn. end).

Herodotus fell into the mistake apparently from there being a break at Sethôs in the Egyptian accounts, which induced him to think that Zet immediately preceded the Psamtik period; he may also have supposed that the dynasty of Sabako consisted of only one king. Finally, he may have confounded Bokhoris with the ancestor of Psammetichus, who was also a Saite: and that, again, owing to the mistake already alluded to about one Sabako. At all events, Herodotus, knowing nothing about Tirhaka, attributed to Sethôs the relief of Jerusalem, which was besieged by Sennakherib, whereas it was the sacerdotal Militia-king Zet who marched against Sargina, but only advanced as far as Pelusium. Yet there cannot well be a greater difference than between the bold and successful march of Tirhaka against Jerusalem, and Sethôs' shutting himself up in his own frontier fortress in deadly fear, and owing his deliverance to the Gods and the mice.

After these facts it would be idle to refute the old story which has been very inopportunately raked up again

about Sethôs being Tirhaka. Such a notion cannot be entertained by any Egyptologer, any more than that Alexander may be Darius. We reserve the full historical solution till we give a sketch of the Egyptian policy of this period.

We must, on the other hand, at once proceed to establish the fact that the Thirty years' naval supremacy assigned by Castor in his *Epochs of the Thalassocracy to the Egyptians*, given at length in the preceding volume, coincides chronologically and historically with the reign of King Sethôs, which lasted 31 years.

Scaliger and Selden have borne their testimony to the authenticity and importance of that well known List. Following in their wake and that of other critics, Heyne, in his classical treatise of 1771 and 1772, submitted for the first time the whole series to connected criticism, according to the authorities then existing, especially Syncellus and Hieronymus. Since that the Armenian text of the first book of the chronicle of Eusebius has furnished us with the document itself (I. 36.), though only in an extract from the epitome of Diodorus. The second edition of Mai has likewise supplied some important facts respecting the entries in the canon upon this point, both from the Armenian manuscript and the invaluable manuscripts of Hieronymus in the Vatican, of which there are twenty. We are thus enabled to fill up the lacunæ and correct the dates. Two facts are thereby established. The first is, that the succession of 17 naval supremacies did not date from Minos, but from the first thalassocracy after the fall of Troy. The second is that this series closed with the expedition of Xerxes, or in Olymp. 74, 4=480 B. C. This seems a very natural break, because after the battle of Salamis the Athenians had the supremacy at sea instead of the Æginetans, and a new vast epoch was introduced into the thalassocracy. Our extract, therefore, represents the middle one of the three periods into

which Castor divided his chronological and historical account: the pre-Trojan, the post-Trojan down to the expedition of Xerxes, and then the Athenian thalassocracy down to the Roman. It is therefore quite in accordance with history to make the break as we have done with the Æginetæ, for we know that before the battle of Salamis they had the mastery at sea.

This is all that need be said here in justification of Castor's account as regards Egypt and Sethôs. The List, as restored, was given in the Third volume, and the historical character of the whole series of his 17 epochs was there established. In the earliest times, Castor's tradition must naturally have been different from the historical criticism of the oldest Greco-Pelasgic chronology.

The entry in the *Eighth* epoch runs thus:

“The Egyptians had a naval force *thirty* years.”

This brings us to the second year of the reign of Sethôs as the starting-point. Supposing him to have established it in his first year, the epoch would close with his reign, and therefore with his dynasty. But we arrive at the same result not only by the computation from below (from Olymp. 74, 4 onwards), but also by the more simple and very certain one from above.

The *Seventh* immediately preceding epoch is thus described:

“The Phœnicians had a naval force *forty-five* years.”

This can only allude to the great epoch of the foundation of Karthage, 55 years after the flight of Elissa in the time of King Pygmalion.¹³⁷ Castor naturally made the epoch of the Sidonians and Tyrians, as well as that of Minos in Crete, belong to the pre-Trojan period. As to the mode of dealing with it, evidence is furnished by the notice of some later writers, though not

¹³⁷ Book IV. 414.

accurate in detail, which represents Minos, the king who destroyed the naval power of the Carians and who preceded that of the Tyrians and Sidonians, as being the starting-point of Castor's epochs.

Now if the Phœnicians are Punians, and if 814 is the beginning of the seventh epoch, the 45 years which that lasted bring us to the same year, 770 B.C., at which we arrive by the calculation from below, that is, according to our tables, the second year of the reign of Sethôs which lasted 31.

This will be sufficient here for establishing the philological fact. But if we look at the matter in an historical point of view, we arrive at the same conclusion on purely Egyptian considerations. Psammetichus did not institute a naval force, as is obvious from the silence of all the Greek writers. With Sethôs the period closes at which it is conceivable that one could have been instituted in the epoch prior to Psammetichus; for between Sethôs and him there is nothing but decline, foreign usurpation and confusion. And who could have thought of founding an Egyptian navy at an earlier period? The Egyptians had always a horror of the great sea; the fleets which Sethôs and his son Ramesses III. seem to have possessed were evidently only transports used for the campaign, and consequently did not constitute a naval force, any more than they created commerce. The fate of the ships of war those Pharaohs employed, if they were not vessels furnished by the southern Phœnician cities, as allies or vassals, before the expedition to Tyre or Sidon, was the same as that of their conquests. They disappeared without a trace. Between the reigns of Ramesses III. and Sheshonk Egypt was either a tributary or politically weak. Sheshonk himself, according to his monuments as well as the Jewish writings, was only the commander of an army and a conqueror by land. At his death the empire evidently declined internally and externally. We thus arrive at the 23rd Dynasty, in which there is no

other long reign but that of Sethôs, just as there is no other break till that period.

But what does this extraordinary innovation imply? A total departure from the whole Egyptian system, and a breach with the warrior caste. Now it is to Sethôs that this very breach is attributed. The priests made the following statement to Herodotus (II. 141.): that from his holding them in little estimation, he treated the warrior caste indiscreetly as though he did not require their assistance: and that, besides other ill-usage, he deprived them of their lands, a privilege conferred on them by former sovereigns, twelve arouras apiece.¹³⁸ Hence their refusal to serve when he wished to march upon Pelusium against the Assyrians, who were advancing, in order to cover his frontier. He was thus compelled to fall back upon his militia, which was composed of civilians.

Only such a king could have entertained the singular notion of forming a navy without a mercantile marine or sailors. It was more absurd even than that of making a militia without a nation. Foreigners of course, perhaps the Milesians, furnished ships and sailors, in exchange for good Egyptian wheat.

Twenty-fourth Dynasty, SAITE.

(L. 615^b.)

						Yrs.	Chron.
Bokhoris	-	-	-	-	-	6	724—719
Attempts internal reforms: defeated by the Ethiopians.							

Mariette has discovered his monumental name :
BEKH-N-RNF. (See Book of Kings, 615^b.)

¹³⁸ I adopt, as Valckenaer and Schneider do, the reading, τὸ μάχιμον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων; and again, ἀρούρας ἅς τοῖσι . . . δεδόσθαι. The ἅς dropped out, owing to the preceding word ending with it. Apart from this, the word τοῖσι would mean a part of the warrior caste; those who, &c. But every common soldier had his fiefs.

Twenty-fifth Dynasty, ETHIOPIANS.

3 Kings: 54 Years.

(718 — 665.) (L. 629—634.)

	Yrs.	Chron.
I. Sevekh (Sabakon of Herodotus) (RA-NFRU KARA, SABAK) (XII.) - - 12		718—707
The Sva' (Sô) of Scripture, with whom Hosea (717—709) made a treaty in the 7th year = Sevekh's 6th year.		
II. Sevetekh (Sebetikhos) (RA-TT-KARU-SABATK) - 14		706—693
The sign for T before the K in Schabatok's name has been verified by Lepsius.		
III. Tarkos (RA-SU-TUM NFR TAHARUKA) (XXVI.) - 28		692—665
The Tirhaka of Scripture. Sennakherib (703—676) levies a contribution upon Jerusalem 701: second campaign between 692 and 689 = first and fourth years of Tirhaka, who raises the siege of Jerusalem.		

"The Ethiopian king Ammeris, 12 (18) years," of the Eusebian Man. (first reign of 26th Dyn.), has turned out to be AMUNIRITIS, queen-consort of KASTO, priestess of Amun; she must have maintained the Ethiopian sway in the Thebaid after Tirhaka's death. Lepsius gives the scutcheons under 616 and 617: his series is: Bokkhoris, Zet, Kashto, and Amuniritis. I take the two queens and priestesses of Amun, MEHTEN-SECHET (consort), NITAKRET (Nitokris), and MIMUT (beloved by Muth) to be her successors in the Pretendership. Lepsius has placed them (639-641) between Psamtik I. and Nekau II.

Fifth Period.*The last Restoration.*

Twenty-sixth Dynasty, the PSAMTIKS. 9 Kings, SAITES: 160 Years. Chronol. duration, 139. (684—526. L. 635—654). Manetho enumerated the insurgent ancestor of the Psamtiks as head of the dynasty, but having given to the Ethiopians their full 54 years (as long as they held Thebes and Memphis), his chronological series begins with Psamtik I. The retreat of Tirhaka, the death of Nekho II., and the return of Psamtik coincide in 665.

	Yrs.	Chron.
I. Stephinates rebels in 8th year of Tirhaka - - - 7	21	685—665
II. Nekhepsôs (Nekhô I.) succeeds in 15th year - - - 6		
III. Nekho II. succeeds in 21st year 8		
Falls in the war against Tirhaka. His son (Psamtik) flies to Syria. Tirhaka retires.		
IV. Psamtik (the Great) (UAH-HT-RA, PSAMTIK)(XLV.L.?)	54	664—611
(The Psammetichus Nephreus of Pliny. See Appendix of Authorities.) ¹³⁹ He comes to terms with the Scythians, who had advanced as far as Askalon (619 = Psam. XLV.) - - - - 619 (Obelisk at Rome on Monte Citorio.)		
V. Nekhao III. (TAM-HT-RA, NKU) (xvi. Man. 6. Her. 15)	16	610—595
Preparations for war against Nabopolassar. Nekho marches through		

¹³⁹ This is very direct evidence of his being identified with the great Psammetichus, in opposition to Rosellini, but in agreement with Lepsius and Leemans. By an oversight, Rosellini's arrangement, which I reject, has been followed in the scutcheons of Vol. II.

	Yrs.	Chron.
Judea, Josiah (638-608) opposes him, and falls at the battle of Megiddo, 608. Battle at Karkemish (Kirkesium). Nekho slain, 605.		
VI. Psammuthis (Psammet. II.) (RA-NEFER-HAT, PSAMTIK) (IV.) - - - 6		594—589
VII. Uaphres (HAA - HT - RA, UAH-[P]HRA-HT) Apries 19		588—570
The 'Hophra of Scripture. Hophra marches to relieve Jerusalem against Nebukhadnezzar (604—562: siege 589—586), but retreats when the latter comes against him (588). (Nebukhadnezzar's supposed campaign in Egypt.)		
VIII. Amôsis ([KH]NM-HT-RA, AAHMS) 44 years - - 44		569—526
(Distant relative.)		
IX. Psammekheres (Psammet. III. Kan-ra) [ANKH-KAN-RA, PSAMTIK] reigns six months till July 1. 525: these are omitted in the date of reign, because after the conquest Kambyzes appropriated the year to himself		139 (160).

Lepsius has established this point triumphantly. The only remaining difficulty was the supposed entry of the odd months in the eighth year of Kambyzes on a stele at Paris. (*Monatsbericht*, June 1855, p. 497.) But that has since been got over, as it turns out that the inscription does not mention his eighth, but seventh, year. In Egypt, therefore, the fourth year was entered, in Persia (and the date of Kambyzes was reckoned by that) the eighth.

Lepsius' Arrangement of Dynasties XXIII. XXIV. XXV.

As Lepsius has introduced in his Book of the Kings an entirely new dynastic and chronological arrangement, we think it right at this place to give a survey of it.

XXIII. Dyn. Only the first three reigns

(Petsibastes, Osorkhon, Psammus) - - - 58 years, 787—729.

XXIV. Dyn. Three Saïtes (instead of Bokhoris alone):

1. Tnephachthos, the name mentioned by
Diodorus, Athenæus, and Plutarch
as that of a chieftain and father of

Bokhoris - - - - - 7 „ —729

2. Bokhoris - - - - - 6 „ —722

3. Seth (Sethos) - - - - - 31 „ 715—685

XXVI. Dyn. First year of Stephinates coinciding with last of Sethos (685).

XXV. Dyn. (Ethiopians) does not count at all. Its 52 years run from 716 to 664:

1. Sebichôs - 12 years, 716—705 = 1st year of Sethos.

2. Sebitichôs } 2 „ 704—693
(SABATOK)

3. Tearkôs - 28 „ 693—664 = 1st year of Psamtik.

There is consequently a transposition of dynasties and of reigns, and no time is allowed for the anarchy, which however is reported to have taken place, and must indeed have existed after Nekhao was slain in battle, in consequence of which his son, afterwards Psamtik I., fled into Syria.

Retrospective Survey of the Chronology from 18th to 26th Dynasty, from Amos to the year before the Persian Conquest.

We have reached the fixed point of the Persian conquest (526 B.C.) without requiring the assumption of contemporary dynasties: an assumption which always bears the appearance of being an expedient for getting out of a difficulty and an abandonment of Manetho. We have acknowledged the coexistence of the last part of the Ethiopian, and the first part of the next following Saïte dynasty, because we found a divided empire. We have not admitted interpolations except in the first two, where the genealogies leave no doubt about them: nor have we made any alteration in the dates of the

Lists, but such as are required by, and founded on, the monuments. The framework of chronology thus obtained meets the case of all the synchronisms from the foundation of the Assyrian empire, and of those from Rehoboam to Nebukhadnezzar and Zedekiah in Jewish history; as well as of Manetho's own synchronism as to the first Olympiad. It is essentially the system proposed by me in 1845, and is based upon the restoration of the dynasties from XVIII. to XXII., which I commenced in 1834, in opposition to Champollion, whose system was then paramount. This I considered to be about two centuries too high in the earlier dynasties of the New Empire, and in contradiction to the monuments, not only as to the regnal years there mentioned, but also as to the genealogies of the Pharaohs. The adjustments rendered necessary by recent discoveries have led to many improvements in detail, while they confirm the correctness of my method and its general results.

Sixth Period.

The Persian Dominion, Revolts and Decline.

XXVIIth, XXVIIIth, XXIXth, and XXXth Dynasties.

(185 Years, from 525 to 340.)

Twenty-seventh Dynasty, PERSIANS. 8 Kings : 121 Years.

(525—405. L. 655—659.)

	Years.	Chron.
I. K a m b y s e s (KAMBATET)		
“from the fifth year of his reign onwards.” As the Canon records 8 years, 4 years must be given to him, omitting Smerdis (Afric. 6., Euseb. 3.)-		525—522
II. D a r i u s son of Hystaspes (NTARIUSA, L. Ntariush).		
[xxxvi. year] - - - 36		521—486

	Yrs.	Chron.
III. Xerxes the Great (KHSIR-SA) [XII. (XVI.) year] (A'hasuerus of Scripture.)	- 21	485—465
IV. Artabanus, seven months	-	465
V. Artaxerxes I. (ARTAKHESESES) [XVI. year]	- 41	464—424
Revolt of the Egyptians against Artaxerxes under Inaros, the Libyan: Artaxerxes III. - 462		
Inaros defeated, Egypt subjected - - - - -	- 456	
Amyrtæus, the Saite, holds out against the Persians in the marshes of Lower Egypt, and calls the Athenians to his aid - - - - -	- 450	
VI. Xerxes II. - - - - -	2 mo.	} 424
VII. Sogdianus - - - - -	7 „	
VIII. Darius Nothus - - - - -	19 yrs.	423—405
Artaxerxes II. (Longimanus) - - - - -	46	404—359
Okhus - - - - -	21	358—338
The beginning of the insurrection coincides with the death of Darius Nothus, and was put down by Okhus on his accession.		
Arses - - - - -	2	337—336
Darius III. Codomannus (L. 683, NTARIUS) - - - - -	4	335—332
(Alexander's first year in Egypt - - - - -)	-	331.)

The Insurrectionary Dynasties in the time of ARTAXERXES and OKHUS.

(XXVIII. XXIX. XXX.) 65 Years.

(404 — 340. L. 660—680.)

Twenty-eighth Dynasty, THIRD SAITE.

	Yrs.	Chron.
Amyrtæus (AMUN-RUT)	6	404—399

Elected king 47 years after the revolt : consequently then only about seventy.¹⁴⁰ His son Pausiris was of the Persian party; on which account they made him viceroy. (Herodotus, III. 15.) Manetho does not mention him in this dynasty, because he was not a national king. Lepsius has found in this period a king KHEBAS, otherwise unknown: he may have been an unsuccessful pretender before Amyrtæus.

Twenty-ninth Dynasty, MENDESIANS. 4 Kings: 21 Years.
(398 — 378.)

	Yrs.	Chron.
Nepherites (NAIF-AU-RUT)	6	398—393
Akhoris (HAKRA)	13	393—380
Psammuthis	1	379
Nepherites	4 months	378

Thirtieth Dynasty, SEBENNYTES. 3 Kings: 38 Years.
(377 — 340.)

	Yrs.	Chron.
Nektanebo I. (NKHT-HAR-HB)	18	377—360
Teôs (Ta-Hes, Isidorus ?)	2	359—358
Nektanebo II. (NKHT-NB. F)	18	357—340

¹⁴⁰ I adhere to this assumption, in opposition to Grote (History of Greece, iv. 306.) and Schöll (in Philologus ix. 193. seq.). Mure (Hist. of Gr. Lit. iv. 534. seqq.) agrees with me. Comp. Kenrick, Hist. of Egypt, ii. 488. The mention by Herodotus of Pausiris as viceroy does not, however, oblige us to suppose that he was occupied with his work at so late a year as 398; for the son may have taken the side of the Persians in his father's lifetime, and so have been appointed viceroy against the father.

Synopsis of the restored Chronology of the New Empire.

(Dyn. XVIII. to XXX.)

Dynasty.	Duration.	Years B.C.
XVIII. <i>Tuthmoses</i> : ix kings, 7 generations (Amos to Horus), (Lists, 348) (III.) Tuthmosis I., 1567. Tuth. III. shuts up the Hyksos, 1540.	216	1625—1410
XIX. <i>Theban Ramessides</i> : v kings. (Lists, 194 years) - - - (IV.) Menophthah (1324—1305). Epochal yr. 1322; Exod. 1320.	110	1409—1300
XX. <i>Memphitic Ramessides</i> : xii (xiii) kings, 8(?) gener. (Lists, 135) (I.) Setnekht (Setna), Nile (Phuorô). (II.) Ramses III. (from 1292): his last campaign in Palestine, 1281. (VI.) Rhampsinit (Ramses VII.)	185	1299—1115
XXI. <i>Tanites</i> : vii kings (Lists, 130—114) (VII.) Pusemes II.: Solom. (1007— 969) marries an Egypt. princess.	135	1114—980
XXII. <i>Bubastites</i> : ix kgs. (Lists, 120—178) (I.) Sheshonk at Jerusalem, 5th year of Rehoboam (968—952). (II.) Osorkon = Zerach vanquished by Asa (948—908).	166	979—814
XXIII. <i>Tanites</i> : iv kings - - - (I.) Petsibastes (40 years): 38th = 1st Olympiad. (IV.) Zet (Sethôs of Herodotus), fleet and militia.	89	813—725
XXIV. <i>Saites</i> : Bokhoris, put to death by Ethiopians - - -	6	724—719
XXV. <i>Ethiopians</i> : iii kings (Lists, 40) (I.) Sevekh, alliance with Hosea (717—709). (III.) Tirhaka against Senna- kherib (708—696), Jerusalem.	54	718—665
XXVI. <i>Saites</i> : vi kings after Tirkhaka (besides iii under Tirkhaka, 21 years), (Lists, 150—173) - (III.) Nekho III. and Josiah (638 —608) at Megiddo. (VII.) Uaphres: Hophra and Ne- bukhadnezzar (604—562).	139	664—526
XXVII. <i>Persians</i> : viii kings (Kambyases to Darius Nothus), (Lists, 124) -	121	525—405
XXVIII. <i>Saite</i> : Amyrtæus - - -	6	404—399
XXIX. <i>Mendesians</i> : iv kings - - -	21	398—378
XXX. <i>Sebennytes</i> : iii kgs. (Nektan. I. II.)	38	377—340

1286 years from 1625—340

PART VIII.

SKETCH OF THE PLACE OF EGYPT IN UNIVERSAL
HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

OUR goal is in sight. By the aid of the monuments and other records we have toiled through the long period which includes the history of imperial Egypt — three and thirty centuries from Menes to Nektanebo II., nine years before its conquest by Alexander. The result has been that Egypt in the fourth millennium B.C. was not isolated in the history of the world. Chaldean civilisation in the plains of Babylon seems from many indications to be more ancient than that of Egypt, and yet Egyptian life is merely a development of Asiatic culture. In Egypt itself Menes is only the starting-point of a new order of things. A united empire is raised upon a primitive basis, with many stages of progression in its political development, with an advanced language and assuredly also not without a written character. Its civil and political institutions again we have seen growing out of a religious system partly provincial, partly uniform. We must consequently place the epoch of the formation of mythology anterior to the political commencement; and again the epoch of the formation of language anterior to the formation of myths. Thus we have three distinct stages in the life of Egypt before Menes, each succeeding one being dependent upon the progressive development of the preceding. Not that we mean to say that there ever was a time when language existed without some religious consciousness and some form of social life. Both of these are deeply implanted in the inmost nature of man, and innate in him, as far as the faculty and artistic instinct are concerned. The mountains and valleys of the mother earth, covered with woods and

flowers, surrounded our first parents with their innumerable productions, with their streams and bays and brooks, just as they do now, and with all the freshness and vigour of a primeval world. The eye of man surveyed them, as it did the sun, the moon, and the stars, with a consciousness that he was gazing upon a whole of which he was himself the centre—an organized whole in which a law was in operation beyond his comprehension, but certain as his own existence. It is this instinctive feeling of causation, this consciousness of a kosmos, of an order in the world of which he is himself the exponent, that renders language and religion possible to him, and even impels him to the utterance of speech and the worship of a God. In the sexual dualism he has the prototype of political life by means of the marriage tie and the hereditary possession of his tent and his flocks. Thus, through the unity of religious feeling and an associated celebration of religious ceremonies, political society gradually arose out of family life and patriarchal guilds and communities. As it implies the preexistence of family order and family worship, so again the development of religion itself implies the mastery over the manifold variety of things, and a practical habit of expressing their mutual relations. We must therefore, in the early history of Egypt, consider the epochs of language, of mythology, and of civil polity, as three epochs of existence, called into operation in this sequence, and perfectly real. The first requisite for understanding them is to abandon the usual frivolous mode of treating this grand phenomenon as an accident; but we must equally keep aloof from hypocritical mysticism which explains nothing. Vast as have been the later works of man, that original construction of language is the necessary preliminary to the rest, and contains the embryo of all the others. The state of mankind at the epoch when language was formed was a real one, though wholly different

from that in which we live. They conceived and reflected, they lived and acted like modern men ; but all their intellectual activity, and the artistic instincts connected with it, were directed with marvellous energy and creative power towards the two eternal poles of consciousness, the idea of the Whole and the single phenomena. Language masters the phenomena of the external world and of the mind : religion seizes the whole, as a unity, and does homage to it with worship and hymns of praise.

How can we understand these primitive operations of the mind ? Simply by analyzing what the mind in man is doing now ! The mind is the same in all stages. The religious stage is a continuation of that operation which produced language and political development ; or modern national history is merely the completion of both. Thenceforward all the three proceed together, and at length perish, either one by one or all at once, in order to make room for new life.

This is also the key to the comprehension of the origines and development of Egypt. Her history is not one of which the main traits are to be guessed : we know them : only their meaning is to be deciphered. The origines are, as to the principal facts, authentically recorded, as well as their subsequent development. The most ancient of these developments more especially, that of language, is the most authentic of all monuments. What then is Egypt's place in universal history ?

The answer which we receive is, that this earliest development of Egypt is neither an isolated one, nor the most ancient. Its mediæval place in universal history is found by means of a scientific inquiry, the method of which we have endeavoured to lay down, and, however imperfectly, to sketch, founding it for the first time upon a basis of facts, not upon an imaginary and merely conventional one. We have given a synopsis of the results in the preceding Sections.

Our business now is to include within the framework we have obtained the outlines of the whole Egyptian development, beginning at the earliest stages.

We shall endeavour to do this according to the three great historical sections of Egyptian history, which are:

The *first*, the Primitive World and the age immediately prior to Menes:

The *second*, the Empire of Menes and its decline, or the Old and Middle Empires:

The *third*, the New Empire and its decay, including the last gasp for life of the Egyptians down to the present day.

SECTION I.

A.

THE EPOCH AND PLACE OF EGYPT PRIOR TO MENES.

“Non alios prima crescentis origine mundi
Inluxisse dies, aliumve habuisse tenorem
Crediderim: ver illud erat; ver magnus agebat
Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
Quum primæ lucem pecudes hausere, virumque
Ferrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis.”

VIRGIL. *Georg.* II. 336—342.

THE cradle of our race was in Northern Asia. There it arose at the most favourable period for our northern hemisphere, in that region now for the most part uninhabitable, which extends southward as far as the 40th degree of north latitude, and from the 60th to the 100th degree of longitude. On the north this district was bounded at about the 53rd degree by what was then the open North Sea, with the Ural as an island: on the east it was surrounded by the Altai and the Chinese Himalaya, on the south by the chain of the Paropamisus, extending from Asia Minor to Eastern Asia, and on the west by the Caucasus and Ararat. We have therefore a primeval country containing on an average 11 degrees of latitude and 40 degrees of longitude.

In this Garden of delight (Eden), with its four streams, the Euphrates and Tigris on the west, the Oxus and Jaxartes on the east, during thousands of years man had soared above the first stage of consciousness. We designate by the title of the First Stage that formation which, itself the product of the creative mind, yet exhibits itself in the phenomenon merely as the inorganic

substruction of the stages of organic development, as the basis of the whole formation of organic speech. At this stage, of which the Old-Chinese is the deposit, there prevails a grand simplicity in the expression of the external phenomena. In language, every syllable was a word, that is, a sentence: the judgment of man about external objects according to their properties, represented artistically, in a musical and an architectonical shape. The natural accompaniment of this language was universal gesticulation, and afterwards picture writing, the portrayal, not of sounds, but of the things.

All poetry, and all the art and science, of the first epoch were comprised in the formation of this intellectual world, of this, as it were, second creation, the work of the finite mind. Religious feeling, unconsciously rather than consciously, cooperated in gaining the mastery over the external world; but the first condition and preliminary to the formation of language was the instinctive consciousness of a rational unity of the kosmos, of things and of mind.

The starry sky is the natural symbol of such a belief, as being the representation of an organized whole, and as a power controlling the life of the Earth.

The formation and gradual superseding of the formless purely objective language must have required thousands of years in the home of its development, in as much as this stage still prevails over a third of of the human race.

The first emigration from the Garden of delight is described as being directed towards the east of Eden, and the emigrants were dwellers in cities, that is, settled husbandmen.

The earliest Turanism, to the east of Khamism, marks the first stage of organic language, i. e. of language with parts of speech: the second is Khamism, i. e. the stage of language we meet with in Egypt.

Khamism, as a transitional step, has disappeared in

Asia; but it displays its vital power and intellectual character by the deposit in the valley of the Nile. We know, indeed, all the earlier formations mainly by the deposit they have left in the colonies established by the emigrants. In their new home these have passed into more advanced formations.

From the upper or lower districts of the Euphrates, but probably from the upper, through Mesopotamia, and further on through Palestine, a body of early emigrants advanced, of whom we can have no knowledge but by means of that most ancient record, their language. This has now been rediscovered, and in the documents of the "Book of the Dead" it speaks to us through compositions which were antiquated 4500 years ago.

This grand and infallible authority, when methodically analyzed and examined, gives us the following information. First of all, that the above migration took place before the Flood. It was anterior to the vast convulsion which in the course of centuries changed the face of the whole district, from a country once blessed, into one desolated, and unfit for cultivation. Moreover, by breaking up the ancient ties of the races, it opened the historical door to a new phasis of consciousness. No reminiscence of this Flood exists in Egypt, although her oldest traditions would seem here and there to retain the echoes of a knowledge of some violent convulsions of nature, the traces of which man had tried to efface.

According to the fixed organic laws of development, there must have been an intermediate stage prior to the formation of a truly syntactical language. This is the title we give to that period of universal history in which the mind stamped the single words into parts of speech, and advanced so far as to coin expressions for the relations of things to each other, and to that action of the mind which forms the sentence, and connects them together. Hence the distinction between substantial and merely grammatical words. The substantial

or objective words, as nouns, adjectives, and verbs, appeared as full words expressing real objects, by the side of others which designate only the relations of the substantial words to each other. The mind, which had created language unconsciously of itself, now manifests itself consciously as the ideal unity of the world around it. The expression of this consciousness is organic language: the progress in expressing this consciousness is consequently the measure of the progress of language and of mankind.

The commencement of this wonderful development, is Old-Turanism. It did no more than fuse the syllabic words of primitive language into polysyllabic by the unity of accent, and thus gradually succeeded in stamping the distinction between substantial words and such as express the relation of things and sentences, or the particles.

Khamism, which settled into a deposit in the valley of the Nile, represents a considerably more advanced stage. It is itself, as to its basis and origin, an antediluvian formation, and represents a time when Semism and Iranism had not yet become entirely distinct dialects in the East. But its development belongs to the post-diluvian period prior to Menes.

B.

THE PLACE OF KHAMISM AND THE HIEROGLYPHICS IN THE POSTDILUVIAN DEVELOPMENT OF MAN BEFORE MENES.

(Year of Man 9000—16000: or from 11000—4000 B.C.)

THE place of the Egyptian is sharply defined and portrayed in the process of development indicated above, from the inorganic to the organic, which is analogous to the development in space exhibited by the natural world. Organic nature presupposes the inorganic.

It is the transition from the wholly unchangeable

root to one more or less imbued with mind, and giving expression to the intellectual act in the formation of a sentence. This expression, however feeble, is a germ full of vital power; and we see the beginnings of an organization, not only for agglutinated words, as prefixes and suffixes, but also for endings and for flexions. The verb is generally Turanian; but the participles contain already the Semitico-Iranian flexion of the verbal stem.

Syntax, or the arrangement of words, is still very meagre; but there are provisions made even for that. In general all particles exhibit an image capable of being expressed by a figurative hieroglyphic. But this simply means that the nucleus of the Egyptian is precisely that which renders it possible to form a written character based upon pictures. A writing, in the main ideographic, is the natural exponent of Khamism.

Khamism and the hieroglyphics, from their nature, go together, like Sinism and pure, or wholly unphonetic, pictorial writing. The original picture-writing is the same as the Mexican and North-American generally, a conventional mnemonical application of pictures to a narrative, perpetuating the recollection of a series of events: they are to be considered rather as a basis for rendering them intelligible, than as a substitute for speech. This stage of writing is authentically before us in the great national work for which we are indebted to the government of the United States and the zeal and energy of Schoolcraft.

How long Turanism is capable of lasting, and to how high a degree it can be developed, are shown by the series of the Turanian languages, from the Tonguse, the Tai and Bhotiya of Thibet, to the Finnish Magyar and Indian Tamuli; a development which has been fully detailed by Max Müller in our "Outlines," and the place of which, in relation to the whole deve-

opment of language, we have attempted to define and exhibit in that work.

The shortest line from inorganic language to organic is that from Sinism through primitive Turanism to primitive Semism, the deposit of which in the valley of the Nile we have in Egyptian. This (as we have shown) gives us exactly time enough to fix the migration into Egypt at the close of the above First Period of the history of our race. But the shortest line is precisely that which we require in order to discover the chronology of the history of the world.

Thus the two calculations, the backward and the forward one, both tend to the same point. Khamism stands in the middle, as the bridge from the wholly or half inorganic to flexional language, which is that of mankind in its no longer stationary, but advancing, state.

But the history of our Iranian languages likewise carries us back to those remote periods, to say nothing of the history of Semism. When the Arians separated, they possessed an orderly system of family life; they tended their flocks, they practised husbandry, and had a language teeming with the germs of mythological representations of nature. The whole grammatical structure, and the terms for designating all parts of this domestic life, are common to Bactrians (Arians), Indians, Greeks, Latins, Germans, Slavonics. The last emigration was probably that of the Arians to the country of the Five Rivers. Their oldest hymns in the Punjâb go back to the year 3000 B. C. This community of life and language must then at all events be supposed to have existed much earlier than 3000 B. C. They had, consequently, at that time long got over the stage of undivided Iranism and Semism. Between 10,000 and 4000 B. C., therefore, the vast step in Asiatic advancement, from Khamism to Semism, and from Semism to Iranism, was made. If the step from Latin to Italian

be taken as a unit, this previous step must be reckoned at least at ten or at twenty.

From all this it appears that the period of one great revolution of the earth's axis (21,000 years) is a very probable term for the development of human language in the shortest line ; and that the double of this, which we should be then obliged to suppose, would be a highly improbable one.

None but those who imagine an artificial wall of separation to exist between nature and man, who conceive liberty of divine action to be something arbitrary or irrational, or who consider the Creator of the world to be an accident of nature, without purpose, and calling man into existence ruthlessly and cruelly, can have any doubt that he was created in our northern hemisphere when it was in the most favourable condition. That was also the idea of the noble Roman poet whose verses we have placed at the head of this section. We know that the most perfect animal forms inhabited our earth many thousands, nay, myriads of years before the existence of man, and that they perished in the prehistoric convulsions of the globe. They, too, had their first day, and they too, as Virgil says, may, like their master, man, at a later period, have come into existence with sunny breezes and favouring skies. But in man appeared the all-creating conscious mind itself, even though it be subject to finite limitation ; with individual reason, but less natural impulse or instinct, the lord and master of all creatures, although the most helpless of animals. To suppose him launched into existence in order that he might succumb to the hostile powers of nature around him, and perish by severe cold and devastating floods, is, when carefully considered, as irrational as it is godless.

It has been shown at the commencement of this volume, that we may hope, by a combination of researches and observations, to establish that mankind has

only terminated one astronomical period, and commenced the second in the year 1240 of our era, and there are many reasons for placing the intermediate catastrophe in Central Asia at the most unfavourable part of that period, or about 10,000 years B.C. As to the subdivisions, if too large a space has been assumed in the one, there is room enough for it in the other. We see no reason for going back to a precedent epoch of 21,000 years: but less than one period is impossible, were it only because of the stubborn fact of the strata of languages.

To what point, then, is Egypt brought back by this calculation? To the middle, at least, of the ninth millennium of Man, as the period of the immigration of the western branch of our race into the valley of the Nile. But this is very near the close of the primitive world in the strict sense, that is to say, of the history of our race before the great convulsion of that part of Central Asia to which we turn as the cradle of mankind. This convulsion, which we know as the Flood of Noah, in all probability coincides with that epoch of the northern hemisphere when the temperature was lowest, or from 9000 to 10,000 B.C., just as the origin of our race coincides with that period of it when the temperature was highest, which was 10,500 years earlier.

If this assumption be correct, the Egyptians can have known nothing of the Flood, allusions to which we find everywhere among the Iranians and Semites. And in truth no such tradition is current among them, any more than it was among the Old-Turanians and Chinese.

The researches into the history of language will have proved how self-evident it is that primitive Turanism and Sinism are both of a date long prior to that convulsion. Nobody who reflects that inorganic language is of very slow growth, arriving at its perfection only by awkward steps, and that once fixed it becomes stereotyped, and can with difficulty be broken up,

will consider four or five thousand years too long for the formation and undivided existence of Sinism. And still the next stage, the first step to organic language, Turanism, presupposes such a process of decomposition. For Turanism itself employs a number of Chinese full roots as formative particles, to indicate the relations of persons and things, and this supposes that the word itself has already become a part of speech, either a verb or noun, and that nouns again begin to be separated into substantives and adjectives.

The step from pure pictorial writing to hieroglyphics is the same as that from Sinism to Khamism. Phonetism is the exponent of the mind becoming conscious by means of writing. The artistic finish given to it before the time of Menes is, to us, the herald and forerunner of that marvellous architectonic and formative skill for which Egypt is so distinguished in its more modern political history. In like manner, the hieroglyphics are the repetition of the early poetry of the formation of the Egyptian language, and a prototype of the pure alphabet. This alphabet again, the organic representation of the most simple sounds, without any trace of syllabic writing, is an immense step, and one at which Egypt never arrived.

But the grand creation of the hieroglyphics must be considered to have originated there. All the pictures have a popular and provincial impress. There may also have been a phonetic picture-character invented in primitive Asia; in that case the cuneiform writing would be the substitute, but cannot be a remnant of it.

From all these considerations it appears that the origin of Egyptian life is to be sought in primeval Asia, and, in fact, in the western portion tending towards Semism, or the district about the Upper Euphrates and Tigris. The date of the emigration is near the close of the antediluvian epoch. The product of this emigration is the commencement of Africanism, as it shows

itself in the craniological formation of the Egyptians, or in the stereotyped physiological type of the Egyptian portion of the primitive Asiatic race.

We now pass on to consider the corresponding creation of the early times, the formation of the religion of the Egyptians.

It is a necessary consequence, and can be shown to be so in fact, that, when the rigid mode of viewing and depicting objects was overcome, this would be accompanied by a similar abandonment of the rigid sameness in the religious consciousness of the world as an inseparable but unconscious whole, represented by the firmament. This stage of worship corresponds to sentence-language and picture-writing.

In language, as well as in religion, the human mind for the first time, and with a timid flight, tries its wing sensibly in Egypt. The foretype of the oldest mythology is organic language: the formation of substantive nouns is the first stage of personifying God.

C.

THE INTERNAL IMPORT OF THE EARLIEST DEVELOPMENT
OF LANGUAGE, IN ITSELF, AND AS THE PROTOTYPE OF
RELIGION.

LANGUAGE is, in a two-fold sense, the prototype of mythology. First, in itself, as being the medium of the representations and of the portrayal of them: secondly, in the organic languages, as being the beginning of independent creations through the process of thought and of speech.

In Khamism the mind is already conscious of its perception of things, as possessing the power of arrangement. It creates the expression of the sentence, as something apart and distinct. It converts the stems,

which are everything at once—nouns and verbs, properties and things—into roots, which are coined into the expression of the fundamental parts of the sentence, noun and verb, things and properties. It indicates their manifold interconnexion by means of special syllabic words or formative words, which, for this purpose, are deprived of their objective independence. Out of this grow the declension of nouns and conjugation of verbs; but all these are only in embryo. Primitive syllabic words are affixed or suffixed, sometimes even introduced into the middle.

In this vast process of formation, the assumption made in our first survey in relation to the primitive world of Asia is verified in all points. It is not merely an idea, that these stems, roots, and formative syllables constitute a series which advances up to the complete formation. They are also historically, according to their substance, the development of a unity. In them are found materially the same fundamental elements as in the oldest Semitic and Iranian tongues.

The history of this development is the history of the epochs of the ancient world, and to discover and exhibit the character, sequence, and import of each of them, is the true philosophy of the mind, and a restoration of this primitive history.

The Semite sees originally the connexion between the thing (subject) and its properties (predicate, whether expressed adjectively or by a participle) in the concrete personality of which the pronoun of the third person is the simplest expression. The Arian, on the contrary, makes the verb *To be* the expression of the copula; a greater abstraction, a greater vigour of thought. The Egyptian does not necessarily express it at all, in which case the position indicates the copula. He may however express it, and does indeed generally express it; and then it is by the verb substantive. The antithesis of Semism and Arism therefore was not yet formed.

The Semite has a conjugation, but this means an inflexion according to the modifications of which their concrete element is capable. To conjugate the verb *To fall*, means to express such modifications, as if we say "to fell," which means to make to fall. He thus obtains regular forms for expressing the modifications of the predicate-element of the verb, without recurring to another root. He conjugates the verbs throughout for the purpose of indicating causality (Hiphil, Piel), or reflective action upon the subject (Hithpael). The Arian invents special words for all such purposes, and is contented with making a distinction between passive and active.

On the contrary, the philosophical genius of mankind, of which the Iranian was the prophet, dives into all the distinctions which exist in Existence, abstractedly, as such. In this way he gets moods and tenses in marvellous variety, and thereby renders speech capable of expressing that conjugation of the verb *To be*, according to regular rules. The Sanskrit verb, and, from its measured harmony and aptitude for the construction of periods still more so, the Greek verb, are just as wonderful works of art as the great plastic and scientific products of the art of Phidias and of the science of Aristotle.

Now, here again the Khamite possesses in embryo that which is perfected in Arism and excluded in Semism. Yet, even here, his conjugation is rather verbal or Arian: it is imperfect but ingenious. He begins already to master the relative proposition, the most simple commencement of the formation of periods, by appending a new state of relation to a subject. If the Egyptian is awkward in this construction, as is the Semite also, Khamism is a timid beginning of the highest. It possesses, indeed, conjunctions, or words for expressing the relation between one sentence and another, which implies a higher mastery of thought. But these

conjunctions, as well as prepositions and adverbs, bear still an intelligible meaning. Traces of this stage of the mind and of the language are even found in modern tongues.

When the Anglo-Saxon wished to express the definite limit of a period of time, such as "a matutino ad vesperam," he used two of his formative or relative words, "*from morning till evening*." As these words were then understood by him, he had four integral words meaning "beginning (is) morning, end (is) evening."

But the operation of this intellectual stage is by no means merely confined to language and forms. It produces also that poetic conception of the external world which is the antithesis to the prosaic purely abstract conception; and likewise that mythological view of religious consciousness, the opposite of dialectic speculation.

The contemplation of the kosmos in the starry sky is the natural expression of the religious mind in Sinism: mythology in language, by unfolding the world to the mind in substantive nouns and signs, is the symbol of Khamism. The formation of the noun is the motto for the formation of mythological deities; both of them being well-understood symbols of a thought.

The forces in things are represented as real deities; the properties are epithets of Gods and Goddesses: and then again, these epithets become special independent deities; just as an adjective becomes a noun, and as all nouns were originally qualificative words for things which were pointed at by the finger.

Consequently, the mythological and symbolical form is the religious specialty of Khamism. The conversion of the symbol into a reality, consequently idolatry, is a degeneracy arising partly from the weakness of the human mind when whole masses are making a great intellectual effort, partly from the strength of the reli-

gious feeling, and the instinctive impulse to give it an artistic stamp and character.

The material itself is provided by the intellect, by that genius which we cannot understand by the cramped stiffness of abstract thought. For the so-called philosophic assumptions do not come near the reality. It is only the methodical contemplation of facts and their connexion in history which enables us to understand its nature and its laws of development.

It is no longer a question of explaining the ancient history of religion by the purely metaphysical play of ideas, any more than it is of constructing the history of language upon abstract notions.

Both of them can only be made intelligible as members of a development in time: and the laws of this development must be investigated and recognized like those of the development of the visible world in space.

The result obtained by such a mixed historical and philosophical investigation, especially through the medium of the history of Egypt, presents a marvellous intellectual kosmos. The history of man does not only run parallel at the beginnings, but is stamped also by the same words, the identity of which, though for many thousand years disguised and crystallized, is still demonstrable.

The old traditions about man in primitive Asia, as specially preserved in Western Asia and Egypt, differ from those of the Bible, not so much as regards original facts, as the way in which they are worked out. The effect of the Divine Mind acting on the Hebrews was principally through the conscience. It showed itself as a rigid adherence to the first cause, from which they were never seduced by the allurements of phenomena and of the senses. Thus the most ancient heritage of man was by them preserved, upon the basis, not of ideas, but of ethical facts.

Now as regards the details of the mythological de-

velopment, the greater part of the present Book is dedicated to the examination and consideration of the most ancient vital points in these formations of the primitive world. It is not possible to catch more than the most general traits of this product, rich in intellect and imagination, characteristics, customs and rites, so as to point out which of them belong to this first age, and which have grown up during the period of political institutions. We shall therefore postpone the discussion on this leading idea till we bring our remarks to a close, and in the meantime endeavour to point out the few but invaluable landmarks for the epochs of Egyptian mythology, in a sketch of the constitutional origines of the Egyptians and of their political history.

D.

THE PICTURE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORIGINES OF THE EGYPTIANS.

THE result of the researches in this present Book has been that the traditions prior to Menes which allude to human kings are real throughout, and exclude entirely heroic fiction, and all ideal representations. We have seen that there was a series of organic development; in the first place we found sacerdotal kings, then elective kings out of the military families, and lastly kings of an Upper and kings of a Lower Country. Our tables of the ages of the world show the connexion between these epochs and the general epochs of the most ancient national history; and the parallel facts we have stated justified us, I think, in calling the Egyptians the chronometers of universal history, and in asserting that Menes and his empire are nothing more than the culminating point of a long preceding constitutional development of Egyptian life.

We will now endeavour to interpret these phenomena as part of the universal history of man.

Egypt is placed by nature in a very peculiar and wonderful position between two powers or tendencies, different in kind and antagonistic. Beyond Syene and the Cataract which forms the inlet into the fertile country of the Nile we have the purely African element. Its noblest and most remarkable representatives were the Ethiopians of classic writers, whose country is now occupied by the Nubians as far as old Meroe, the frontier of Negroland Proper. Their language was fundamentally different from the Egyptian. Lepsius has not only found records, but even living remains, of it. In the very modern times of Greece, Ethiopia was still governed by kings, although the influence of the priesthood predominated. They obviously enjoyed privileges which rendered the king their tool, and which in cases of emergency only left him to choose between abdication or suicide, dethronement or a violent death. On the other hand we have in the direction of the Mediterranean the influence of Asia (for those from the Berber side, Cyrenaica, were unimportant), that is, more especially, that of Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Between the Tigris and Euphrates there lived a peaceable and civilised Semitic race, which however was never in a condition to form a large and united kingdom for any length of time. Palestine, their nearest neighbour, seems in the time of Abraham to have consisted of a medley of races, part nomadic, part agricultural. The caravan trade was what it is now. Egypt was even more than at present the granary of Western Asia, and must likewise have been that of Upper and Lower Nubia.

Since the fables about the Indian and Ethiopian origin of the Egyptian language and civilisation have been reduced to their proper nullity, we have palpable evidence, on the other hand, that, so early as

in the Old Empire, hostile relations and sometimes those also of alliance and blood, existed between the two countries. We may therefore now speak, without being chargeable with want of knowledge, of the influence of Ethiopia upon Egypt. As is easy to understand, we find it especially powerful during the Middle Empire, in which the independent Egyptian element was represented by tributary Pharaohs at Thebes. The wife of Amōsis, the founder of the New, seems to have been an heiress of Ethiopian descent by the mother's side: the son of Ramesses, when the Exodus of the Jews took place and Egypt was invaded by their kinsmen and allies, fled to Ethiopia, to the king of which he was related in blood.

There is indeed a geographical and geological difference between the Upper and Lower country; still the similarity between them is greater than the difference: and this unity was also the basis of their earliest historical civilisation, language, and religion. If then even Menes only modified, but did not destroy, the political dualism of the two countries, if this was still marked even under the Ptolemies by the royal title, we must look for its origin in a different admixture of the two ethnological elements out of which the Egyptian race grew up, in the predominance of one or other element and of the influences connected with it. In Abydos and Thebes the African element remained predominant; while in Tanis, in Heliopolis, and Memphis the Asiatic prevailed. Africa and Asia cross each other in Egypt geographically, ethnologically, and historically. This is essentially the effect of the natural element, which, upon the whole, pervades and makes itself felt throughout all history. It gives the impress to the varieties of race, and these, receiving that stamp, which is the extension of great individual character, children by birth or adoption of the parent soil, continue to work on consciously or uncon-

sciously with the same type. The exclusive character of Africa predominates in Upper Egypt, the open character of Asia in Lower Egypt. The Mediterranean encourages communication and intermixture; the upper valley of the Nile and the Desert, isolation. From the Mediterranean the life-bearing breezes of history blow, stimulating and advancing all the races which inhabit its coast. In Egypt alone the coast is barricaded: the Egyptian has a horror of navigation and maritime commerce, and all he will permit is the Semitic tribes to bring their merchandise to the mouth of the Nile.

The civilising race of the Egyptians came from Kanaan, and there is no trace in the language of any other element. But when once settled there, it became affected by the genius of Africa. The stream ran in the first instance upwards, carrying civilisation and progress towards the Thebaid, and then backwards from the Thebaid to the Lower Country. The first imperial kings were Thinites, who, after exercising a provincial sovereignty for a long period, advanced from Abydos to the root of the Delta and founded Memphis, which, as the imperial residence, is older than Thebes. Theban kings were on the throne at the close of the Old Empire; they kept alive the popular element and Pharaonic government during the Hyksos rule; they formed the first and most brilliant period of the New; and there is a reflex of them in the poems of Homer.

But Memphis was the focus in the Old Empire, and from the 21st Dynasty downwards the Delta was the cradle and residence of the royal races, while Thebes became gradually more and more merely the city of sacred and early reminiscences. As plants are, by an invisible power, attracted towards the light, so were the races of the old world towards the Mediterranean. Egypt derived from Asia its vitality, its stimulus, its vocation, and, finally, its deathblow. Even then it was the maritime metropolis of the great Macedonian which

made Egypt so important a feature in history. Alexandria and the great city at the root of the Delta, the heiress of Memphis, continued to be the light points, while Upper Egypt sank lower and lower into the shade.

These historical phenomena point to the combined action and counteraction of climate, of peculiarity of race, and of the stream of general history.

We must therefore consider these two poles as being in operation also in the earliest history. Egypt, from the very commencement, is always the child of Asia and of Africa, both as regards its political and religious development, and it is in this that its marvellous idiosyncrasy consists. It was the vocation of Egypt, in so far as its power would permit, to attract the African races towards the life of Asia, and subsequently of Europe, which dawned from the Mediterranean. The African element, however, is the peculiar tendency in the provincial life of the Thebaid to arrest and check advancement, considering the Asiatic element to be its own deathblow. The more expanded genius of Asia was, in their eyes, at one time immoral license and impiety, at another, a haughty and foreign power striving to obtain supremacy. In spite of this, the civilisation of Thebes was considerably in advance of the much more Africanised Ethiopia. There the supremacy of the priestly caste, and the superstition on which it was based, were speedily superseded. Egypt commenced with sacerdotal kings, a form of government which must obviously have been of long duration in Ethiopia, because the succeeding stage, that of kings elected from the warrior caste, with priests to direct the civil departments of government, lasted till a very late period. This form, accordingly, was the ultimatum of the political development of Ethiopia; in Egypt it was merely transitional.

As elsewhere, the basis of their constitutional system was the self-government of the district, that is to say, the free communal element. But the public gradu-

ally disappeared before priest and prince, and its only protection consisted in the balance of these two powers. In Ethiopia, the priests gained the upper hand; in Egypt, the prince was chosen from the warrior caste: but the antagonistic sacerdotal element was not destroyed by the predominant one; it still retained its own recognised sphere of action.

There can be no doubt that, at first, the election of kings was mainly, if not exclusively, managed by the influence of the priests. Thus Samuel elected the king, when the people clamoured for the unity and force of monarchical government.

The statement in Synesius, which has been examined above exhibits an elective system so well adapted to these circumstances under sacerdotal guidance, that I cannot make up my mind to believe that it is the idle invention of the ingenious bishop, or of some other Greek before him. But this election by the Thebans on the Libyan mountain would not suit any other period than that of the sacerdotal kings. The candidate chosen by them was evidently one of themselves, the warriors only holding up their hands, that is, simply voting for or against him. Not a word is said of any other caste having the right of voting; consequently, not the people, whether they were citizens or peasants. This has no appearance of being a romance like Xenophon's *Cyropædia*; but, true or false, the authority for it is the Sacred Books, and it is ancient Egyptian tradition, like the account in Strabo, of which we shall speak forthwith.

All this had long been matter of history when Menes came to the throne. Still we cannot fail to see that there was a gradual progressive tendency to centralise the national element by royal power, and that the provincial autonomy gradually died out.

Only a single generation after Joseph's grand financial scheme had made over to the crown the whole fee-

simple of the country, except the lands of the priests, we find a Sesortosis erecting the most magnificent and gigantic building in the Old Empire, and perhaps in Egypt, the Labyrinth. There can be no doubt that Strabo, when he tells us that the representatives of each Nome ("the best," probably elected by the principal persons) met in it at the great Panegyries, has transmitted an old historical fact. He adds, that there was a separate court appropriated to each Nome, with apartments attached to it, where the highest legal questions were finally decided, and the disputes at issue between the provinces settled by arbitration. This is not the beginning, but the fag-end and close, of the old popular liberties. Powerless provincial meetings, and a kind of parliament like those of the later French monarchy, assembled, with a remnant and semblance of ancient independence. For it may be taken for granted that something more than such popular institutions as these had existed in ancient times.

But at the end of a few years even this semblance was abolished. The Old Empire closed soon after; at Thebes every vestige of freedom which still survived must of necessity have been obliterated during the long general bondage and isolation of Upper Egypt. At length the New Empire commenced, when the Pharaohs were despotic autocrats, they being subject to no control, except as regarded the rights of the priesthood and certain privileges attached to the warrior caste. The whip is the eloquent symbol of the Pharaonic rule, the enduring acquisition of the people of the sons of the Sun.

We arrive thus at the following organic epochs. Prior to the monarchical period there was an incomplete and imperfect republican union of districts; next, the series of princely governments before Menes, commencing with sacerdotal kings; and then the empire, with Menes as its chief.

The ante-regal period has no dates in the Annals. In

the eyes of an Egyptian it was anarchy : for, as Herodotus says, the Egyptians could not exist a single day without kings.

The period before Menes recorded as possessing reigning princes comprised 5463 years, or something like the time which, according to our calculation, intervened between Menes and A.D. 1860.

We conclude with a synopsis of these epochs of Egyptian development.

I.

INTERNAL EPOCHS OF THE TIME PRIOR TO MENES.

- I. Rule of Sacerdotal Kings in the Thebaid (Bytis) : oldest Ethiopic element.
- II. Elected Kings in the Thebaid. Last stage of the Ethiopic constitution.
- III. Hereditary Princes and a confederation in two groups. Asiatic element prevalent.
- IV. Double Empire : Upper Country, Lower Country. National Egyptian civilisation.
- V. Predominance of Lower Egypt. Progress, in the Asiatic sense.

II.

INTERNAL EPOCHS FROM MENES TO THE LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE : 3,300 YEARS.

- I. Unity of the Empire. (First Dynasty.)
- II. Decline of the Thinite line (Dyn. II., with an Ethiopian reaction, which made the worship of living animals a national one). The Imperial dynasty is Memphite (Dyn. III. IV.)
- III. Separation : the Theban dynasty (V.) gives way to the Memphite (VI.).
- IV. Separation continued : the Theban Kings gain the supremacy over the Memphites, who disappear with Dyn. VIII. On the other hand,

a portion of the extreme northern part, including Pelusium, revolts, and the way is paved for the conquest of Egypt by Asia when the Sesostrides of Thebes become extinct.

V. The power of the Pharaohs is restricted to the Thebaid, and they are driven to seek alliances and matrimonial connexions in Ethiopia. The African element becomes more fixed in Dyn. XIII. XIV. XVII.

VI. Restoration of the Empire mainly by the efforts of the Thebans: Theban Kings down to the close of Dyn. XX.

VII. Reaction: the Theban dynasties disappear for ever, and the different princely houses of the Delta furnish the Pharaohs successively, the Saïtes especially. (XXI—XXVI.)

VIII. Counter-efforts made by the Ethiopians, who, taking advantage of the disaffection in the warrior caste owing to the reforms introduced by Zet, dethrone the Asiatico-European reformer Bokkhoris, and hold the reins of government 50 years. (Dyn. XXV.)

IX. Decisive supremacy of the Asiatico-European element by means of the Psammetiks of Sais. Terms of amity with the Greeks. The feudal military system shaken.

X. Conquest by the Arians (Persians and Macedonians).

We shall now touch upon the points of contact between the epochs of the Egyptian empire from Menes to Nektanebo, and those of universal, and in particular of sacred, history, and conclude by an attempt to sketch the place of Egypt in the development of the human mind.

SECTION II.

THE PLACE OF EGYPT IN UNIVERSAL HISTORY FROM MENES
TO THE DOWNFALL OF THE HOUSE OF SHESHONK.

(Dyn. I.—XXII.: 3623 — 835 B.C.)

A.

THE GENERAL TURNING-POINTS AND THE OLD EMPIRE.

I.

THE GENERAL TURNING-POINTS.

THE starting-point of the Old Empire consisted of a union suitable to the times in which it was effected, the blending together of the Theban and Lower Egyptian elements, that is to say, of the Asiatic and African tendencies. In this union the North-Egyptian element was predominant, that element the bias of which was Asiatic, and whose political basis presents more of the republican, and less of the hierarchical, element. When this empire came to an end, the tendencies became Theban and Ethiopian, which, we know not how far by the cooperation of the powerful princes in or about Pelusium, at length led to the invasion of the strangers and their ultimate conquest of the country. But as these invading races exercised direct authority in Lower Egypt as far as Memphis during the nine centuries of their supremacy, merely taking tribute from the Upper Country, where they possessed magazines and fortresses, the Delta element was totally extinguished, and it became the exclusive vocation of the Theban and Ethiopic element to carry on the Egyptian development. But

this was a task to which it was in no way adapted. The monuments also show that the whole of this long period was one of torpid inaction: nothing new was created. Thus the New Empire commenced with the predominance of the African tendency. This, again, in spite of the national element of opposition to the Hyksos, was based on a rigid despotism exercised by the legitimate princes of the Thebaid. They had in their veins a strong infusion of Ethiopian blood: through this the 18th Dynasty was directly connected with the 17th, to which they owed the restoration of their independence. There was a third disadvantageous circumstance, namely, that the Asiatic element, which had been introduced during that long period of subjugation, was of the rudest kind that could be found in Western Asia — Arab and Palestinian shepherd races, brave and vigorous by nature, but devoid of all culture and civilisation. It need not be matter of surprise, therefore, that they left behind them in Egypt no monuments, for neither their forefathers nor their posterity ever erected any in their own country; nor that they kept themselves wholly aloof from the Egyptians. All Asia, lastly, was at that time in a state of debasement. A vast military despotism was established on the Euphrates, which exercised a constant check on the energies of the free races.

These circumstances mark distinctly the absolute contrast between the histories of the Old and New Empires; for, from a general point of view, the history of Egypt is only bipartite. The Middle Empire is the Old sunk into a state of torpid paralysis, from which it could never entirely recover. In the Old there were development and some progress, the New fell into decay after a brief respite; whereas in Asia the Semitic element acquired fresh vigour all over Mesopotamia, and pressed with additional weight upon the important country of the Nile, from the Tigris and

subsequently from the Euphrates. But it was not at the hands of these Semites that Egypt was destined to receive its death-blow. It died internally from the moment that it oppressed and rejected the small separate people of the Israelites, which was a foreign and unwarlike race, though intellectually superior, and at the same time represented the humanising element. The intellectual contrast between the two, from the Exodus down to the fall of Jerusalem, forms the elevated poetical side of this portion of the world's history. On one hand we see the worship of the powers of nature attempting to work by means of decrepit medieval symbols, and a more and more senseless despotism exercised over the people by princes and priests, in virtue of the unhallowed right of force; on the other, a free and freedom-giving moral law as a basis, and intellect as the recognised highest element of the religious and civil constitution. On one side there is incapacity of internal renovation, externally only the power of destroying; on the other, reinvigorating strength, and, in spite of all deviations, a tenacious adherence to liberty, and to faith in the spirit of ethic truth and its future, the divine kingdom of Truth and Justice upon Earth.

In this struggle Egypt yielded more and more to the fate of all purely selfish existence, and finally received its death-blow from the Arians, whose vigorous and hardy race had gradually raised themselves by freedom and courage to a superiority over the effeminate Semites. Scarcely had the Medo-Persian element attained under Cyrus the Achæmenian to the dominion of Asia, when Egypt, after a short struggle, became a Persian satrapy. The last of the Achæmenidæ ruled undisturbed over the country of the Nile after a not inglorious resistance. Their conqueror, the Arian of Macedon, brought Egyptian life actually down to the stillness of the grave. But he gave it a new historical eye in Alexandria, the city of Canopus, which soon

became a world-renowned metropolis and the central point where European, Asiatic, and Egyptian life met together. This was a spectacle wholly novel to the old world, the consequences of which did not come to light in history till centuries after. Hellenic genius and civilisation took refuge there, and found at Alexandria an asylum by the side of the synagogue. For Alexander had given a place even to the synagogue, out of which not only a new temple sprang up, but also, by a blending of Platonic ideas with the facts of Christianity, the most spiritual and learned Christian church.

II.

THE HISTORICAL POINTS OF THE OLD EMPIRE : EGYPT AS CONTRASTED WITH ABRAHAM AND THE HEBREW PATRIARCHS.

It follows from the preceding remarks, that there was in the Old Empire a development, however small, whereas the New commenced with a state of internal torpidity, and subsequently exhibited only decay. The national enthusiasm which had been roused by the princes soon evaporated, and, after some futile attempts at a restoration, the empire fell to pieces.

We will now enter in a little closer detail upon the points of contrast in the two empires. This can only be done by taking into consideration the difference between their relative connexions with Asia. The Old Empire was a wholly isolated state, like the historical China of the last four thousand years. The New Empire was drawn into the policy and destiny of Asia. It began with a struggle against the Asiatic element, which soon extended beyond the frontiers of Egypt to Phœnicia and Mesopotamia. Although these raids were but of short duration, in which a few towns were burnt, contributions levied, and no permanent conquests made, still they led to a lasting political connexion with the various governments of Asia, the

mother-country of Egypt, and this was in itself an element of progress. Egypt, in the first instance, voluntarily repelled the Asiatic element; but was soon drawn more and more into universal history as a passive agent, and towed along with the destiny of Asia: showing that, in spite of its confidence in its power and wealth, its science, arts, and civilisation, it was completely over-matched in political development. The small divided kingdom of Israel it was unable either to win over or to conquer; in wrestling with it and the whole of Western Asia (Damascus, Nineveh, Babylon), a system of Egyptian polity was established, a compound of threats and flattery, with irresolution or impotence in the background.

What a contrast between the two kingdoms! In the Old Empire Egypt stood entirely alone as regarded Asia. It neither received from her any intellectual stimulus, nor did it communicate any. But it was for a long time internally strong and respected, while Asia was weak from its own divisions. Its aim was to realise the ideal of an exclusive kingdom; almost without commerce, and wholly without shipping of its own, in spite of the great length of its seaboard and the two great natural centres of trade, the bays of Pelusium and of Alexandria. Of these, Pelusium was from the first the key of the empire, and fortified too at an early period. The policy of the New Empire was very different. It aimed at making conquests at the outset, yet could never keep for any length of time possession of Gaza, the corresponding key to Palestine. Several of its mightiest sovereigns, in their raids, seem to have been obliged to make a circuit to avoid it. It never had any allies except by force of money, and was never able to protect them against attacks from the north. Thus it was wanting in every requisite of a great, and consequently Asiatic, policy. It remained to the last the China of the old world, concealing its

weakness beneath the mask of ancient and modern parade. True it is that, even during the Old Empire, strangers who were cast upon its inhospitable shores were no longer sacrificed to the gloomy blood-thirsty Set; but yet it rejected everything foreign and new, neither gaining a footing by colonies in Southern Palestine or the country east of the Jordan, nor by means of fortresses on the Asiatic frontier. The common stimulus was a mere love of plunder and booty; a bias towards Libya and Mauritania; hunting for treasures in the Peninsula of Sinai, and gold and ivory and slaves in Ethiopia and the adjoining Negro countries.

The exclusiveness of the New Empire was in its weakness, whereas that of the Old was the system when in power and strength. In internal development the Old was not deficient in indications of historical vitality.

The points which especially come under the notice of the political observer here are the following.

The union established by Menes threw the weight of the empire towards the North, and wholly got rid of the preponderance of the priestly caste over the regal power. When his race became extinct in the male line a dynastic and retrograde element arose, owing to the Theban dynasty (2nd) which established the right of succession in females of the royal race. From this too dates the introduction of the detestable African animal-worship of the Thebaid as a state religion. Wealth, love of ostentation, the vanity of the princes, and passion for building, produced unexampled efforts in the 3rd imperial Dynasty, the 4th of Manetho. But there was an intellectual movement in the preceding one. The literary epoch began: the primitive elements of the Rituals had long existed. But despotism also grew: the system of castes also was established in the beginning of this 3rd Dynasty.

Still in the course of the Old Empire the political constitution must have been in process of development,

inasmuch as the nucleus of the Old Labyrinth, according to Strabo's account, was a House of Assembly, independently of its use as a royal and sacred burial-place. Viewed as matter of universal history, this was an intervening stage between that Pharaonic despotism which became stereotyped in the Hyksos period, and the earlier self-government of the Nomes, with independent rights and a federal tribunal. But the abolition of free land-owners in consequence of the financial measures of Joseph, and the formation of a standing army under the 18th and 19th Dynasties, sapped the foundation of political freedom. The loss of freedom entailed again the loss of all claim to the historical title, and of the capacity to resist the process of decay. Thus, at the beginning of the New Empire, Egypt had become a mummy embalmed during the Hyksos period: abomination of foreigners gave it a momentary semblance of national vitality: the sediment which remained was despotism, and a stereotyped art and civilisation.

Isolated as the Old Empire was, the appearance of the sublime figure of Abraham in the land and at the court of the Pharaohs, in the second half of the twenty-ninth century B.C., was an event of more remarkable character.

Doubtless, as he gazed upon the vast products of Egyptian art, their civilisation and gorgeous monuments, he could not but appreciate and admire, but still not envy them. Their religious ceremonies, on the other hand, must have filled him with horror, and could only have tended to confirm his faith that the frivolity and depravity of all external worship were doomed to perish.

Pharaoh and his courtiers would naturally only see in Abraham the prudent Semite, the cautious husband of the beautiful Sarai. They never thought that from this calm unpretending individual, beyond all other single personages in the old world, a power would go

forth, which, in the course of ages, would dissipate all their medieval phantoms, and prepare the way for the supremacy of the religion of conscience over the globe.

B.

THE HISTORICAL POINTS IN THE NEW EMPIRE TO THE ACCESSION OF SHESHONK.

(1625—980 B.C.)

I.

MOSES AND THE EXODUS.

WE have already given our opinion upon the aggregate importance of the New Empire, which commenced with the 18th Dynasty. The inner life had become torpid, but it was a noble one; that life of the oldest civilisation, which sprang up in Central Asia, and became stereotyped in the valley of the Nile, and which produced there the oldest phonetic writing, and a most remarkable, primitive, plastic art, with great historical significancy.

The early popular vigour which had called forth and preserved all this was buried under oppression and formality. Egypt was again independent, but it was a strange heavy nightmare in the new world, a spectre in the light of that day which in the meantime had begun to dawn. Held together internally only by artificial means and the whip, it was unable to put forth any new vital power. This it might perhaps have done, had it not driven Moses out of the land. But we see at once that the possibility of such a result implies an admixture of the two antagonistic elements in the world, the Egyptian and the Israelite.

The Exodus, therefore, was God's judgment. Egypt

never recovered from the heavy blow which it brought on itself by that act. We have stated in the preceding Book that the Exodus was only an episode, or rather one link in a fearfully vast well-devised plan, carried into execution with sagacity and resolution, of avenging liberty. That the Palestinians who invaded the country were, as the Egyptians say, called in by Moses, must be considered as an invention of national hatred: but the invasion is historical and most important. It was a cover for the Exodus, and the great Sicilian Vespers by which Asia took her revenge upon Africa. Those Palestinians were really, after more than two centuries of oppression, "the messengers of the Lord," when, in the third year of the reign of Menophthah, rushing down from the north, they slew all the firstborn even in the king's palace. The Pharaoh (as Egyptian writers tell us) went out to meet these Palestinian hordes, but lost heart when he thought he saw the Gods fighting on the side of his enemy. Whereupon, taking with him his son, then five years old, and the sacred bull, he fled to the court of his ally and friend, the king of Ethiopia, where he remained thirteen years. In the meanwhile the invading hordes committed unprecedented excesses in the country. The towns and villages they abandoned to the flames and to plunder, the priests they forced to kill the sacred animals for them to eat.

It is not difficult to explain that the Egyptian writer, in his account of the invasion, called these shepherds Hierosolymites or Solymites, and confounded them in various points with the Israelites.

We know the whole state of the case as to the Israelites with sufficient accuracy from the Hebrew records, and the only question is, What was the actual connexion between the Exodus and the cause and the time of the invasion? I think it probable that the Midianite friends of Moses had some part in it, for the invasion was preeminently an Arabian movement, the first

Shepherd dynasty being Amalekite. At all events, the invasion and Exodus became the death-blow of the New Empire.

What a striking contrast the historical Exodus presents! Israel, the Invaders, Egypt! Moses retires into the wilderness, leaving the rich land and dwellings of his people to Arab and Philistine or Hittite hordes. It was not for the purpose of conquering Egypt that he armed and stimulated the people to rebel. His mission was to train an undisciplined race for the discipline of the moral law, by privations and severe struggles. As to the invaders, they executed a terrible vengeance on the Egyptians, whose kings had for above two centuries harassed the peaceful colonists with increasing cruelty and severity, as soon as they thought they could do so with safety. Despotic kings and nations never believe that there is a divine retribution for their own rapacity, and thus the severest judgment overtakes them and their posterity with the most complete justice. The courage and judgment of the Egyptians failed in face of the moral faith so energetically evinced by the man of God. At length a body of troops was despatched, to attack the multitude as they withdrew. These perished in the waves: and the weakness of Egypt became self-evident to their Palestinian and Arabian neighbours, who fell upon the disorganised country, which was humbled as it had never been before. At the end of thirteen years the enemy was expelled, but the strength of the nation was exhausted. After the brilliant semblance of a restoration by the great conqueror of the 20th Dynasty, the power of the Pharaohs was so shaken by the Assyrians that it never recovered itself again for any length of time. Nor did the work of the invaders produce any good to their country or to the world. The movement in behalf of human dignity and of liberty was alone blest for those who understood it and for the human race.

II.

HOMER'S SKETCH OF EGYPT, AND THE CHRONOLOGICAL HORIZON OF
THE HEROIC LEGENDS OF IONIA.

THEBES is clearly the focus and metropolis of Egypt in the horizon of the Trojan legend. Achilles in his wrath, when he refuses the presents sent him by Agamemnon in order to bring about a reconciliation (Il. ix. 379—385.), says:

“No: though he offer ten- or twenty-fold
What he now boasts or may possess hereafter,
With all the treasures of Orchomenos,
Or gorgeous houses of Egyptian Thebes,
That far famed city with her hundred gates,
From each of which, caparisoned for war,
Forth issue twice a hundred charioteers:
Nay, should he even proffer to me gold
Like sand upon the shore, or dust of earth.”

We see that the wealth and splendour of Thebes are here represented as being the greatest then known in all the world. The glory of Orchomenos had departed before the time of Homer, and we are not to think of Thebes as it was in the poet's time, the ninth or tenth century B.C., but as its renown had been transmitted along with that of the Trojan war. We certainly do not attribute to Homer that profound knowledge which Apollonius Rhodius exhibits, in supposing him to be acquainted with the early age in which the scene of the Trojan legends is laid. Could a passing rumour about the forays of Sheshonk and his gigantic buildings in the royal city, which had then fallen into decay, have reached Ionia? Certainly not. The splendour of that dynasty did not last. The legend therefore in which

a powerful Thebes was reflected must have been of earlier date than 1200 (when Egypt was tributary and unrenowned), but neither can it be older than 1500. For the former splendour of Thebes dated from fifteen centuries farther back, and was consequently beyond the historical knowledge of the Ionians. It was in 1550 B.C. that the modern Thebes began to be celebrated in Asia, through the brilliant campaigns, exploits, and works of the second and third Tuthmōsis.

This, I think, is an indisputable conclusion, and it is one of no slight importance. Among all the points of contact between the Homeric legend and the historical world, this is the only one to which we can assign definite limits. We have already seen that no certain chronological data are to be obtained from the mention of Tyre and Sidon in the Homeric poems. But even the history of Ionia and the Hellenic races in Hellas furnishes no other fixed point for the great Trojan event itself, which is the nucleus of the legend, except the epoch of the migration of the Heraklidæ. The Trojan war, and even the heroic legend connected with it in the shape in which Homer found it, are anterior to this event, which entirely altered the state of Greece and the relations of the Hellenic tribes. But with this we only obtain the extreme limit, reckoning from below; and in fact, as we see, it is too narrow a one. For the Doric migration cannot be placed higher than about the year 1000, as Duncker has recently proved by convincing arguments, in the third volume¹⁴¹ of his excellent ancient history. Now, if according to our Egyptian chronology there could be no living legend about Thebes in its glory after 1200, though there may have been 300 years earlier, there is only just space enough to enable us to place the author of the *Iliad* (whom I cannot do otherwise than consider as a single person as far as the

¹⁴¹ iii. pp. 198. 230. seq.

nucleus and general form of the poem are concerned) at that early date which an unprejudiced view of the age before Lycurgus requires, namely, between 900 and 850.¹⁴² It is the date which Herodotus assigns to Homer; 400 years after the Trojan war, which he fixed at 1280. According to us the interval between the historical event in Asia Minor and the date of the *Iliad* is rather greater than less: the date of the taking of Troy may go considerably beyond 1300 B.C. Many centuries are required for decomposing history into a popular legend. This legend, the existence of which Homer implies, contains from first to last purely epic features, and it must have been the subject of general popular belief before the creative poet took it in hand, to mould it into artistic shape, and clothe it with a unity such as his vast knowledge of the world and truly artistic genius enabled him to infuse into it.

We have already shown that in the period between 1270 and 1200 such an event as the Trojan war could not have occurred in Asia Minor, on account of the Assyrian empire. But it now appears from the image of Egypt reflected in the *Iliad*, that the Trojan legend cannot have been formed later than the first half of the fourteenth century B.C., and not earlier than towards the middle of the fifteenth. Thebes was only great at that period. In every point of view, therefore, it seems of some importance to have obtained a horizon for Homer's account of the position and power of Thebes in Egyptian chronology; one not less novel and certain than that which astronomy has furnished for the date of the combination of the Astarte worship with the Polar Star of the Phœnicians.

¹⁴² Conf. Duncker, iii. 295. seq.

C.

THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF THE TWENTY-SECOND
DYNASTY.

(984 — 835 B.C.)

SHESHONK AND THE SON OF SOLOMON : JOEL.

THERE is still considerable obscurity about the political history after the Exodus. The 19th Dynasty outlived that event, in the midst of confusion, by only twenty-two years. The "Man of Memphis," as Herodotus calls the founder of the next dynasty (the Setna of Diodorus), restored order. His son Ramses III., after twelve years of victorious campaigns, ended with erecting sumptuous buildings. About the fiftieth year of the dynasty, B.C. 1250, Semiramis conquered Egypt and made it tributary. During the remainder of it (till 1115) we find no more public monuments, much less representations of victories on the royal tombs or elsewhere. We hope to be able to show, in the concluding Section of this volume, when reviewing the historical documents and literature of the period, that the celebrated stele of the Louvre, relating to a miraculous event in the reign of Ramses XII. (about 1160 or 1150), does not invalidate this fact, as M. de Rougé seems to think. Now, under his successor we find Her-hôr the high priest of the sanctuary of Thebes, and like his predecessors prefect of the palace, also commander of the army. It is he who after the death of the next king of that dynasty (Ramses XIV.) assumes the full regal title as founder of a new one (21st). The designation of these Pharaohs, "Princes of Tan," was probably owing to inhe-

ritances which the Theban house of Her-hôr had acquired by marriage.

The contact with universal history begins with Sheshonk, the founder of the 22nd Dynasty, a great conquering warrior, who dethroned the last pretender of the Herhôr-Mendes family, and defaced the scutcheons of the Tanite house. It was this Sheshonk who ransacked Jerusalem in the fifth year of the son of Solomon. The undeniable traces of Aramaic names in his dynasty betray a connexion with a princely house in Mesopotamia, probably with the royal house of Assyria, the dynasty of the Ninyads. For the political history of Egypt during this time we must recur to Jewish sources, and they tell us more perhaps about the relations between Egypt and Judah than has hitherto been found out.

In the reign of David, the Edomite prince who made his escape from the massacre took refuge and found protection in Egypt. Solomon attempted to improve the connexion with the then reigning family by marrying the Pharaoh's daughter (1 Kings iii. 1.). In his reign, indeed, the relations with Egypt were generally of a very friendly character. War chariots and cavalry horses were sent from Egypt to Palestine in vast numbers (1 Kings x. 26—29.). As regards the Pharaoh's daughter herself, it is hardly probable that she felt very comfortable and happy in the cedar house, although it is not likely that difficulties were raised as to her religious scruples, for Solomon allowed his queens, and perhaps the 300 concubines in his harem, to pursue their own form of religious worship; indeed, he went so far as to build shrines for their deities (1 Kings xi. 1—8.). What a pity that she was not aware of that self-denying, Messianic inspiration of her large-hearted husband, which has lately been lauded with wonderful unction by Hengstenberg! It can hardly be expected that she should duly appreciate what Hengstenberg considers

his divine vocation, to collect about him from as many nations as possible the fairest specimens of woman-kind. It is, on the contrary, far from improbable that the Pharaoh's daughter may have felt herself the more aggrieved thereby, as she was assuredly not so handsome as her Asiatic rivals. Politically, the close connexion between Solomon and the Tanite dynasty may have induced Sheshonk, the chief of the 22nd Dynasty, to offer an asylum to Jeroboam about 973, and invade Judea in 964. The insane and irreligious conduct of Solomon had brought the kingdom to the verge of ruin, the tyrannical haughtiness of his son gave it the finishing stroke. When Sheshonk made additions to the palace of the Sesortosidæ and Tuthmōses at Thebes, without doubt by the aid of treasures and prisoners taken from the Jews, he set up the genuine Jewish figure of the subjugated kingdom of Judah. We cannot, indeed, as Cardinal Wiseman does, see in it the absolute Davidic type, which we know nothing about; still less can we trace in that head, as the cardinal can, the outlines of the face of his Divine descendant. We know, on the contrary, that an artistic character was first given to the head of Christ in the fifth or sixth century at Byzantium: a fact now ascertained from the wonderful pictures in Justinian's church of St. Sophia, which the king of Prussia ordered to be copied before they were again covered with whitewash. But it is impossible not to be struck by the faithfulness of that symbolical representation of the popular Jewish type in the remarkable figure erected by Sheshonk. The likeness is a speaking one, and it is executed in thoroughly artistic style.

Judah remained for a long time unavenged. It was not till thirty years after that Asa wiped out the stain by his brilliant victory over Osorkon-Serakh, the successor of Sesak, at Maresa.

In the interval, probably about 960, during the distress occasioned by a fearful drought and a plague of locusts, the prophetic voice of a seer of the despised race (Joel iii. 19.) proclaimed to Egypt that the day of the Lord was at hand, and that divine retribution would speedily be accomplished :

“Egypt shall be a desolation,
And Edom shall be a desolate wilderness :
For the violence against the children of Judah,
In whose land they have shed innocent blood.”

Those who would look for a literal fulfilment of this prophecy must wait 250 years, reckoning from the sack of Jerusalem, when it was accomplished in the person of Sabako, the Ethiopian ; or as it was more remarkably, 200 years later still, by the cruel Persian king. But this would be wholly to misunderstand the spirit of prophecy. For days of tribulation came upon Judah (and they were richly deserved) at the same time, and previously too, and still heavier tribulations : to this hour, indeed, Egypt is much more the land of blessing than Palestine. It was at the utmost fifteen years after Joel that their wrongs were avenged by Asa's brilliant victory. It was this not distant period to which the prophet alluded when he looked for the return of the prisoners from the captivity, and his song concludes with that most solemn announcement of the Almighty :

“And I will avenge their blood that I have not yet avenged :
And the Lord will dwell in Zion.”

But even these words are sufficient proof that we must regard the whole from a higher point of view. They must be understood as alluding not to countries, but to men, to Egyptians and to Jews. The former never again possessed permanent power in Asia. The consequences of Sesak's successes were of brief duration, those of Tirhaka still more temporary. Detached

from general history, they dragged on like mercenaries a pitiful existence, which not even Christianity could reinvigorate; and their descendants are devoured, like the rosin of their mummies, by Arabs and Turks. But of the nation whom they trod under foot there are, scattered over the whole earth, twice as many millions as ever inhabited Palestine, and, in spite of their offences, which have not yet been expiated, the consciousness of their divine right to coexist with heathenism has never wholly abandoned them.

The 23rd Dynasty now succeeded, from 834 to 743. Its most important reign was that of the last king, Zet, from 776 to 743, the period of a maritime power which lasted thirty years. It was during it that the fresh struggle commenced with Assyria for the possession of Syria and Palestine. Zet was the contemporary of Sargina, not of Sennakherib. With that conqueror the fatal crisis of Jewish policy commenced, and never did prophetic wisdom and inspiration shine brighter. It is the prophets who teach us to appreciate the real character and bearing of Egyptian policy during the two centuries of that struggle, from about 776 to about 576. In the middle of that period rises the splendid figure of Psammetichus the Great, and the contact with Ionia and Greece begins, fatal to Egypt, but fruitful for the world. The external history of this 26th Dynasty has been recorded by the Greeks, particularly by Herodotus and Diodorus. We see there in Psammetichus the bold reformer, who tried to break the power of Egypt's janissaries; protected art, science, and trade, and favoured the Hellenic element; but could not restore vitality to the mummy of Egyptian life. Amasis suffered from Kambyes what Bokkhoris had suffered from Sabakon. National life was spent. This phenomenon is still better explained by the prophets than by the Greek historians.

SECTION III.

EGYPT'S POSITION IN REGARD TO ISRAEL IN THE ASSYRIAN
AND BABYLONIAN EPOCH.

INTRODUCTION.

DYNASTIES OF SARGINA AND OF NABOPOLASSAR.

THE hand of the Assyrians, which in the thirteenth century weighed heavily upon Egypt, was soon stayed. Towards the middle of the eighth century the empire of the Ninyads fell to pieces, although Phul's campaigns against Samaria showed what vigour the Assyrians still possessed. The new race of rulers commenced with two heroes and conquerors. From that time forward it became more and more evident to the Men of the Spirit in Judah that, humanly speaking, Judea, placed as it was between Assyria and Egypt, between Mesopotamia and the Land of the Nile, must be crushed in the collision between the two continents, Africa and Asia. One hope of salvation they certainly still possessed, in divine, that is inner, purification, and in rising from selfishness to a life conformable with the divine order of the world. They might have been saved had the kingdom of the Ten Tribes united heartily with Judah, and had the two by moral regeneration again become one people, a true people of God. Hence it was that their prophets uniformly gave them that advice. But dynasties and priests alike remained selfishly blind; and the people soon perished by luxury and despair.

As early as 719 Samaria and the Northern Empire fell into the hands of Sargina (Sargun), the founder of the new Assyrian empire. Thus the little state of Judah

alone remained between the two colossi, with its northern frontier threatened, with no southern frontier but the desert, and instead of the protection of their kindred tribes the hostile Philistean and children of Edom lying in wait.

Under these circumstances it was advisable and necessary to preach a bold resistance, supported by an unshaken trust in God. Should they, however, be compelled to choose between two evils, all the prophets recommended reliance to be placed on the power of Asia, and warned them against the bruised reed of Egypt, which broke when it was leant upon, and had formerly in a treacherous manner pierced the hand that rested on it. (Ezekiel xxix. 6. seq.: comp. Isaiah xxxvi. 6.)

In the same sense Hosea, before the invasion of Phul, had warned the Ephraimites, who were thoughtlessly rushing upon their own destruction: it was from the prompting of the same feeling that the last words of Jeremiah in captivity were uttered.

No one prophet ever recommended a treaty with Egypt, on the contrary they always warned the people against it; whereas the false prophets in all times, the courtiers, and those who were bought with the gold of Egypt, constantly encouraged them in that direction, because it was so much nearer, and they could always flee to it. The weakest-minded kings were those who took a waiting position between the two, and they were consequently, as they deserved, severely handled by the prophets.

The same line of policy, the only true and advisable one, was also inculcated in Deuteronomy, that is in the later time of Hezekiah. Among the king's duties we read (xvii. 16.):

"Only he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt in order to get many horses: for the LORD hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way."

And this is said without any national hatred : on the contrary, in the same book, the Egyptians, as well as the Edomites, are preferred to the Ammonites and Moabites. We read in chap. xxiii. 7, 8. seq. :

“Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian ; for thou wert a stranger in his land. The children that are begotten of them may enter into the congregation of the Lord in the third generation :”

whereas in a previous verse it is said that the Ammonites and Moabites shall not enter even in the tenth.

We think it advisable to give in succession the whole of the prophecies of these seers, which have direct reference to the fate of Egypt. They would be highly important even if we possessed such a history of Assyria, of Babylon, and of Egypt, as we have of Greece and Rome. But at this date, when Semitic Asia was extinguished, all that meets our eye are Molokh-cruelties and Astarte-licentiousness on one side, the dumb Bull of Memphis and the Mendesian Goat on the other. There is no man to record any act of individual greatness, if such existed. Despotism reaps its own harvest—dissolution, destruction, curses of all kinds, and the greatest curse of all, the necessity of doing evil without intending it. There was nothing of a superior character to comfort the nations. No voice of the Spirit bursts upon the ear from the wondrous ruins of Nineveh and Babylon. In this pitiful condition, in this night of Asiatic history, nothing but the solitary voice of the prophets of Judah can assist the student of human history. It gives us a manly and truly statesmanlike insight into the circumstances of the time, and into the views and thoughts which then agitated men's minds in Asia and in Egypt. So far then these utterances possess for us all the value of the political sketches, speeches, and comments of Herodotus and Thucydides. But their value is enhanced by another quality peculiar to them. They give us more than politics and

statesmanship. They portray events in the light of a view of the world which transcends all relations of time and national peculiarities. The star of moral consciousness of God, which shone out of Zion, illumines that darkness with divine light, even for us and our times. For what is eternal is always present.

Upon a mere superficial survey our Egyptian researches will enable us to understand the position of Egypt in history, both during the supremacy of Assyria in the time of Phul, of Tiglath-Pileser, of Salmanassar (Sargina, Sargun) and his son Sennakherib, and during that of Babylon under the two great rulers, Nabopolassar and his still greater son Nebukhadnezzar. The Egyptian dates we have established agree entirely with the chronological data furnished by the cuneiform inscriptions, and the two together corroborate most satisfactorily the historic truth of the Bible account, by supplying some details and rendering them intelligible.

The following synopsis, taken from the synchronistic tables of my "Bible-work," will enable the reader to understand and interpret those passages in the Prophets which will be cited in regard to Egypt.

SURVEY OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ASIA, FROM 747
TO THE SACK OF JERUSALEM, 586 B.C.

THE empire of the Ninyads was shaken to its foundation by the revolt of the Medes in 753. Sargina (Sargun), a man of courage and a successful and distinguished general, who overthrew the last of the Ninyads in the year 748, saved the Assyrian empire by coming to terms with Nabonassar of Babylon, and then directed his resources against Syria and Palestine. In 746 or 745 he attacked Samaria, where, after the murder of Pekajah, Pekah had become king and refused to pay tribute. He seized at once Aroër, the frontier fortress of Gad.

This campaign took place in the last year of Zet, the Sethos of Herodotus, and it is to the defensive operations consequent upon the inroad of the above Assyrian conqueror that the unfortunate march of this priest-king to Pelusium is to be referred. The connexion of this march with Sennakherib's campaign is a blunder of Herodotus.

Sethos on this occasion was only frightened, for the Assyrians did not advance farther south. But as early as 737, Damascus, the metropolis of the independent kingdom of Syria, was attacked and sacked by Sargina. He, at the same time, carried away captive to Nineveh vast numbers from the kingdom of Israel.

This attack was brought about by the king of Judah. Upon the death of Jotham in 741, his son Ahaz had scarcely ascended the throne when Israel and Syria made a combined attack upon him, the Edomites and Philistines invaded the country, and once more captured Askalon and several other cities. In this extremity Ahaz appealed to the king of Assyria for assistance.

In the meantime Egypt was preparing for a war with Ethiopia, terminated in 737 by the victory over, and execution of, the unfortunate reformer Bokhoris the Saite (742—737). After the bloody struggle in which Thebes was captured, Sevekh I. became king of Egypt. His reign dates from 736. The Ethiopian rule, called mythically by Herodotus the reign of Sabako, lasted till 687. The hero among these three Ethiopian sovereigns was the third and last, Thrk, or Taharuka, the Tirhaka of Scripture, the Tarkos of Manetho, and, most correctly of all, the Tearkos of Strabo (714—687). The account given of him by the latter historian is that he conquered north-western Africa, "as far as the Pillars of Hercules." He is the only Pharaoh who was successful in a campaign against Asia. The dynasty of

the Psammetici commenced in the year 686, but its power was not thoroughly established till the reign of the great Psammetichus (665—612).

The Ethiopians rendered themselves conspicuous in Asia in early times. In the reign of Sevekh (Sabako) Egypt possessed five cities in Palestine, probably the five cities of the Philistines. In the annals of Sargina Gaza and Askalon are called Egyptian possessions. But the Assyrians gained gradually a firmer footing from the north. About 730 (18 years before Sargina) the conquest of Karkhemish, the important city on the Khaboras, took place. Samaria itself fell in the time of Hosea (729—719), while after the death of Ahaz, in the year 725, his son Hezekiah (724—697) reestablished the temple service, and endeavoured to maintain a good understanding as far as practicable with Assyria.

The great war between Egypt and Assyria, which had been long in preparation, at length broke out. It seems most probable that, shortly after the sack of Samaria, Sargina conquered Cyprus and even Sidon, and laid siege to Tyre. The campaign against Egypt, which lasted three years (Is. xx.), seems also to have taken place at this time. He sent his general, Tartan, against Ashdod about 715.

Upon the death of Sargina in 704 there arose a great movement in Western Asia. Merodakh Baladan, viceroy of Babylon, endeavoured to make himself independent, and sent a flattering message to the weak and vain king Hezekiah, who, contrary to the advice of Isaiah, was persuaded to revolt against Sennakherib the son of Sargina, who succeeded his father in 703, and reigned according to my tables till 676, in all 28, not 18, years. This warlike king first attacked Merodakh Baladan and Media, and in 701 Syria and Palestine. All Judea, as far as Jerusalem, was conquered by him. Forty-six cities were captured, 200,164 Jews were sent prisoners to Babylon. This is the first campaign

against Jerusalem which is mentioned in the Book of Kings.

The second took place in the last or 28th year of Hezekiah (697). It ended unfortunately for Sennakherib. Tirhaka (Tarkos) retrieved Jerusalem, and a pestilence broke up the Assyrian army. Sennakherib, however, reigned a considerable time after. Manasseh, the worthless son of Hezekiah, became tributary, and when he attempted to regain his independence, was carried away to Babylon.

Sennakherib appears to have dedicated the latter years of his reign to the erection of those vast and gorgeous buildings at Nineveh. The razzias of the Pharaohs not unfrequently ended in sumptuous buildings, the passion for which is often a symptom of the approaching dissolution of military dynasties. Babylon was nominally a province in the reign of Assarhaddon the son of Sennakherib, who, as crown-prince, had been viceroy there since 680. He succeeded to the throne upon his father's death in 675 and died in 668. The accession of the great Psammetichus therefore coincides in date with the rapid downfall of the second Assyrian royal house. Media became independent, and when King Deioces died in 657 he was succeeded by Phraortes who reigned twenty-one years. In the year 637 he marched against Sardanapalus, king of Assyria, and when he fell in battle Kyaxares became king of Media.

The almost simultaneous invasion of Asia by the Scythians delayed the fall of Nineveh, which did not take place till 606, at the hands of the kings of Babylon and Media, who had formed an alliance (Nabopolassar, since 625, and Kyaxares).

In 638 Josiah, the son of Manasseh, had become king of Judah. The struggle between Egypt and Nabopolassar for the sovereignty in Syria and Palestine broke out in his reign. He refused a passage through it to

Nekho III., who had succeeded his father Psammetichus in the year 611, and fell at the battle of Megiddo in 608.

Jerusalem was besieged, and Jehoahaz proclaimed king, but he was dethroned at the end of three months. His brother, the pitiful Jehoiakim, received the royal title. At that time it was that Uriah, the son of She-maiah, lifted up his voice against the abominations of Jehoiakim at Jerusalem, and being persecuted by the king, fled to Egypt; but the king having demanded him to be given up, he was brought back, and put to death.

Egyptian policy eventually led Jehoiakim to a rupture with Babylon in the third year of his reign (605). The defeat of Nekho, in the celebrated battle at Karkhemish was, however, the more decisive in respect to Judah, inasmuch as Nebukhadnezzar, who had gained the battle as crown-prince, soon after became king, and in the first year of his reign (604) took the field against the Egyptians. All the results of the Egyptian policy at once began to show themselves. In the year 597, the sixth of Nebukhadnezzar, 3023 Jews were carried into captivity. In 597 Zedekiah, the brother of Jehoiakim, became king; Jehoiakhin (Khonja), the son of Jehoiakim, having been carried away after three months' reign, with 10,000 Jews, to Babylon. Zedekiah revolted, Jerusalem was besieged at the end of 588. Hophra (Apries) came to its relief, but Nebukhadnezzar found means of alarming him. The Egyptian army retired, the siege was pushed on with redoubled vigour, and on the ninth day of the fourth month of the year 586 Jerusalem was taken by storm. This great event occurred in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, the nineteenth of Nebukhadnezzar. Zedekiah had his eyes put out, after his children had been slain before his face, and was carried away to Babylon. Jerusalem itself was razed on the seventh day of the fifth month in that year, and the temple destroyed.

All the accounts agree that¹⁴³ Nebukhadnezzar did not march against Phœnicia until his rear was fully protected. Tyre, which alone offered any resistance, was besieged thirteen years (585—572), when a treaty was made by which the kings of Tyre became tributary.

Nebukhadnezzar reigned ten years more (571—562), during which were erected the vast buildings of the great ruler who founded Babylon anew, and rendered it almost impregnable. There is no trace, during this period, of that campaign against Egypt which, directly after the sack of Jerusalem, Ezekiel had expected. Josephus thought himself under the necessity of giving another date to it, but he does so obviously without any authority in the annalists. The want of a right understanding of the spirit of prophecy has led to more falsehoods and absurdities, in this instance, than in almost any passage of the Old Testament, which is saying much.

The Egyptian accounts also are at variance with such an assumption. In the same year that the treaty with Tyre was made Apries died. Amasis succeeded him, and continued to be king until six months before the conquest of Egypt by Kambyses.

What information have we as to the policy of Egypt during all that period, and as to its internal condition? We find none in its own and the contemporary records of Asia, and little in those of Greece, during the period from Psammetichus to Amasis. The only thread which can guide us in such an inquiry is found in the Jewish prophets. We shall therefore examine them in their chronological order, down to the time of Hophra (Apries).

¹⁴³ See, upon this and what follows, Movers' admirable researches (Phœnicians, ii. A. p. 437—441.), and Duncker (Ancient Hist. i. 561. seq.).

A.

THE PROPHETIC UTTERANCES ABOUT EGYPT DURING THE
ASSYRIAN SUPREMACY.*Egypt, and the Policy of the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes.*

I. HOSEA: 780—770 B.C.

THE kingdom of the Ten Tribes owing to conflicting counsels, sometimes leaned towards Assyria, which was again in a prominent position; sometimes towards Egypt, now flourishing under Psammus and Zet (the most important princes of the 23rd Dynasty), and which held out to them many allurements. Zet even attempted and not unsuccessfully, when the Phœnician thalassocracy declined, to bring himself into notice by a fleet in the Mediterranean. Between threatenings and flattery abroad, jealousies in Samaria and Jerusalem, and luxury and sensuality and ruin on all sides, the unfortunate people were distracted. To a prophet the result could not be matter of doubt.

In the seventh chapter of Hosea (11-16.), there is the following solemn address to the Ephraimites:

“And Ephraim was like a silly dove, without sense:

They called to Egypt, they went to Assyria.

When they go, I will spread out my net over them,
like the fowls of the heaven will I bring them down:

I will chastise them according to what their congregation
have heard.

Woe unto them, for they have fled from me!

Destruction unto them, for they have rebelled against me!

I would indeed redeem them;

yet they speak lies against me.

And they cry not unto me with their hearts,

when they howl upon their beds:

They assemble themselves for corn and wine,

they rebel against me.

I have indeed taught them and strengthened their arms :

Yet do they imagine mischief against me.

They lean not upwards ;

they are like a deceitful bow ;

their chief men shall fall by the sword, for the frowardness of
their tongue :

This is their scorn towards the land of Egypt."

This idea, is still more plainly expressed in the concluding words (xii. 1.):

"Ephraim courseth after wind, and graspeth at the storm ;
he daily increaseth lies and desolation :

And a covenant they make with Assyria,
and oil is brought to Egypt."

Further on, however, the Spirit makes him utter the solemn sentence which was constantly fulfilled, whenever those who escaped from the sword of the Assyrian or Chaldees were forced to flee back as despised fugitives to Egypt, into the land of the ancient bondage. Thus he says (viii. 13.):

"They slay the sacrifices, they eat flesh, an abomination to me ;
the Lord hath no pleasure in them :

Now will he remember their iniquity,
and visit their sins ;
they shall go back to Egypt !"

And at last (ix. 3. 6.) summing up the whole :

"They shall not dwell in the land of the Lord :

But Ephraim goes back to Egypt,
and in Assyria shall they eat the unclean thing.

For lo ! they are gone away from the destruction ;
so shall Egypt gather them together ;

Memphis shall bury them :

Their treasures of silver shall the thistle inherit,
Briars shall grow in their tabernacles."

The prophet does not merely destroy the phantom of their misguided policy, but also holds up to the Ephraimites the picture of the love of God, which had been long-suffering to their fathers ; but they themselves now perish because they will not repent (xi. 1-5.):

"When Israel was a child I loved him:
 And out of Egypt I called my son.
 They have called them:
 So are they gone away;
 they have sacrificed to the Baalim,
 and to the graven images have they burned incense.
 But Ephraim I led with a string,
 by his arms embracing him:
 But they knew not that I healed them.
 I led them with cords of a man, with bonds of love,
 and was unto them as one that taketh the yoke over their neck:
 And I gave him meat.
 He shall not go back to the land of Egypt;
 but Assyria, he shall be his king:
 For they will not repent."

II. ZECHARIAH

(the Elder: Book of Zechariah, ix—xi.).

In the 14th year of Pekah, king of Israel: 734 B. C.

Zechariah likewise, the contemporary of Isaiah, cannot conceal from himself the fact that his country would fall a sacrifice in the struggle which was going on between Egypt and the Euphrates kingdoms for the lordship in Asia: but the two cruel oppressors of mankind will perish, and the children of Israel come back out of Egypt as well as Assyria. Thus he prophesies (x. 9—11.):

"And I will scatter them among the people, and they shall remember me in far countries:

And they shall live with their children, and return home.

For I will bring them back out of the land of Egypt,
 and out of Assyria will I gather them:

And I will bring them into the land of Gilead and Lebanon,
 so that there is no room for them.

And he passeth through the sea of the straits,
 and striketh into the waves of the sea,
 and all the deeps of the river are dried up:

There is the pride of Assyria brought down,
 and the sceptre of Egypt ceaseth."

The "sea of the straits" is Egypt, in allusion to the passage of the Red Sea. The "deeps of the river" mean the river of Assyria, the Tigris.

III. NAHUM.

In the 15th year of Pekah : 733 B. C.

The fall of Thebes and the cruel execution of King Bokkhoris, at the end of 737 or the beginning of the following year, by the Ethiopian conqueror Sabako (Sevekh I.), must have made a vast impression far into Asia. Will it have the effect of strengthening the power of Egypt as against Assyria, or will it simply paralyze Egypt through the agency of its African neighbour, who keeps aloof from commerce with the world? Nahum saw in the above event, the atrocities of which we know only from him, an indication that all tyranny is doomed to destruction, and that the God of heaven and of earth abhors violence and will avenge all wrongs. Wherefore (he asks) should it fare better with the haughty Nineveh, which now oppresses us, than it did with the glorious and well-fortified metropolis of Pathros (the Thebaid)? His inspired ejaculations about Nineveh are as follows (iii. 8-10.):

"Art thou then better than Thebes, the city of Ammon?
 which was situated by the side of rivers, and which the water
 encompassed :
 Which was a citadel of the sea,
 whose wall consisted of the sea.
 Ethiopia was her strength, and Egypt without end :
 Put and the Libyans were part of thy auxiliaries.
 She too was carried into captivity,
 her children also were dashed to pieces at the corners of all the
 streets :
 And for her honourable men they cast lots,
 and all her great men were bound with chains."

IV. ISAIAH.

(758—697.)

1. *Egypt and the Policy of the Kingdom of Judah in the first year of Ahaz: 740 B. C.*

When, upon the accession of Ahaz after the death of Jotham, Pekah king of Israel and Rezin king of Damascus marched against Jerusalem, Isaiah the son of Amoz stirred up the king and people to offer a bold resistance and inculcated union, foretelling the approaching great struggle between Egypt and Assyria. Thus we read (vii. 18, 19.):

“And it shall come to pass in that day the Lord shall hiss for the flies

which are at the end of the rivers of Egypt:

And for the bees which are in the land of Assyria.

And they come and settle all of them in the slopes of the valleys, and in the caverns of the rocks:

And in all the hedges of thorn,
and in all pastures.”

The king of Assyria also shortly marches in and drives out the enemies of Judah: but the king of Judah, in flattering terms, proffers to pay tribute to Sargina. It would seem that the end of the Jewish state had come: their sons are in captivity in all countries. But Egypt as well as Assyria will hereafter be obliged to restore them, the end of Israel is not yet. This is the announcement the prophet makes, when in the 4th year of Ahaz (737) he thus prophesies (xi. 11, 12.):

“And it shall come to pass in that day that the Lord will again a second time

with his hand redeem the remnant of his people:

Which remains from Assyria, and out of Egypt, and from Pathros, and out of Ethiopia,

and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea:

And he shall set up an ensign for the nations,
 and gather together the dispersed of Israel :
 And the dispersed of Judah shall he bring again
 from the four corners of the earth."

2. *Egypt and Ethiopia, and their Position as to Judah and the Kingdom of God.*

When upon the accession of Bokkhoris, in the year 742, the sacerdotal and Ethiopian party in Upper Egypt, discontented by the reforms which had been made or announced, prepared for a struggle with the liberal-minded man of the Delta, probably therefore at the beginning of 737, King Sabako, prompted doubtless by that party, sent an embassy into Palestine to King Ahaz. It must have been matter of importance to the Ethiopian ruler to be certain of the assistance, or at least of the good will, of Ahaz. Whereupon the question was mooted at court and in Jerusalem, which side they should take.

Isaiah was especially anxious that they should promise friendship to the Ethiopians. They would be likely to look with a favourable eye on the worship of Jehovah; but the rancorous Egypt, their arch-enemy from the first, which had so often led Judah astray to adopt a false policy, would, he asserted, perish. Thus (xviii. 1—7.):

"O land of winged ships
 that liest along the rivers of Ethiopia:
 That sendest messengers by the sea,
 and on vessels of bulrushes over the waters!
 Go, ye swift messengers, to the tall and stately nation,
 to the people terrible from the beginning until now :
 To the people of great strength and powers of crushing,
 whose land the streams cut through.
 All ye inhabitants of the world and dwellers in the earth :
 If the ensign be set up on the mountains, behold !
 and if the trumpet be sounded, hearken !
 For thus hath the Lord said unto me,
 I will look quietly on in my dwelling-place :

Like glowing heat when the sun shines,
like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest.
For even before the harvest, when the bloom is perfect,
and the flower is become a ripe grape :
He will cut off the tendrils with pruning-hooks,
and take away and lop off the branches.
They are all left to the birds of prey on the mountains,
and to the beasts of the earth :
And upon them the birds of prey shall summer,
and all the beasts of the earth shall winter thereon.
At that time shall presents be brought to the LORD of hosts
from the tall and stately nation,
from the people terrible from the beginning until now :
From the people of great strength and power of crushing,
whose land the streams cut through,
to the place of the name of the LORD of hosts, to the Mount
Sion."

To the Egyptians, on the contrary, he promises a hard master, in a remarkable passage which comes immediately after the above hymn (xix.). The prophet begins by drawing a striking picture of the alarm which then seized upon Egypt, and of the horrors of the civil war which was on the point of breaking out between the Upper and Lower Country. Bokkhoris occupies the old city of Zoan (Tanis) in the Delta, so well known to the Jews, and holds his councils at Memphis. The distress of the country increases. His counsellors and magicians are unable to advise him, although they pride themselves on their old wisdom, and some of them on being descended from the ancient royal race. The people, as well as the king and court, have no expedient to offer, no plan to propose for their deliverance. The present Pharaonic power is at an end and their idol-worship also.

But not so the country and the people. The prophet (from the 18th verse) raises himself above the political horizon of the present time to the higher one, that of humanity. When the pride and presumption of both king and people are broken down, then shall the Egyptians fall back on themselves.

They shall give up their exclusive mode of existence, and again establish without hindrance the worship of Jehovah. The influence indeed of the people of God, of the prophet of the Lord, will become so strong, that several cities of Egypt shall adopt the Jewish language and the pure worship of Jehovah: not for the sake of commencing new wars for conquest, but in order to promote the general good of mankind in association with Assyria.

It is only such a homage as this being paid to the Lord, by granting religious toleration to his people, that can restore to Egypt the independence which it is now losing: a bold hero will rise up to save the Egyptians, if they call upon the Lord.

This deliverer arose in the person of Psammetichus the Great, seventy years afterwards. His ancestors, protected by the marshes of the Delta, had revolted against the oppression of the Ethiopians which lasted fifty-two years. He himself was a man of liberal views as regarded foreigners. The great prophetic chapter is as follows:

“Behold! the Lord rideth on a swift cloud, and cometh to Egypt:

And the idols of Egypt tremble before him,
and the heart of Egypt melts within it.

And I will set up Egyptians against Egyptians: [friend,
So that brother shall fight against brother, and friend against
one city against another city, and one kingdom against the
other.

And the spirit of Egypt shall fail within it, and its devices will
I bring to nought:

Then shall they take counsel of their idols and the charmers,
and them that consult the dead, and the wizards.

And Egypt I give into the hands of a hard master:

And a severe king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the
LORD of Hosts.

Then the waters pour off from the sea:

And the stream is exhausted and dried up.

And the rivers stink,

shallow and dry are the brooks of the land that is in anguish:

Reed and flag wither.

The meadows by the streams, on the bank of the river :

And all the corn-land of the river is parched up,
is become dust, and is no more.

Then the fishermen sigh and mourn,
all those who angle in the river :

And those who spread the net over the water, stand aghast.

They are pale, those who work the combed flax :

And they that weave white garments.

And its foundations are destroyed :

All they that work for wages are sad at heart.

The princes of Zoan are fools,

the wisest of Pharaoh's counsellors—their counsel is folly :

How say ye unto Pharaoh, 'A son of wise men am I!
a son of ancient kings !'

Where now are thy wise men? let them declare unto thee :

And discern what the LORD of Hosts hath purposed against
Egypt.

The princes of Zoan are become foolish, the princes of Memphis
deceived :

And Egypt is led astray by the chiefs of its tribes.

The LORD hath poured out in the midst of them a crazy spirit :

They lead Egypt astray in all its doings,
as a drunken man staggereth in his vomit.

And no act is done by Egypt

That head and tail, branch and rush, may do.

In that day will Egypt be like the women :

And will be afraid and tremble, because of the shaking of the
hand of the LORD of Hosts,
which he shaketh over them.

And the land of Judah shall be a terror unto Egypt,

it shall quake when any one shall speak of it :

Because of the counsel of the LORD of Hosts,
which he hath devised against it.

At that time there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt

which speak the language of Kanaan and swear by the LORD of
Hosts :

The city of the sun shall one be called.

In that day the LORD hath an altar in the midst of the land of Egypt :

And a pillar at the border thereof belongeth unto the LORD.

And it shall be a sign and token to the LORD of Hosts in the
land of Egypt :

That if they cry unto the LORD against the oppressors,
he sendeth a saviour and warrior unto them who delivereth
them.

And the LORD maketh himself known to Egypt,
and Egypt knoweth the LORD in that day :

And they serve him with sacrifice and oblation,
and vow a vow unto the LORD and perform it.

And thus the LORD smiteth Egypt, smiteth and healeth :

But they return again unto the LORD,
and he suffereth himself to be entreated of them, and he healeth
them.

In that day there shall be a highway from Egypt to Assyria,
and Assyria shall come unto Egypt, and Egypt to Assyria :

And Egypt shall serve [the LORD] with Assyria.

In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and Assyria :

A blessing in the midst of the land.

Which the LORD of Hosts shall bless, saying :

‘Blessed be my people Egypt,
and Assyria, the work of my hands,
and Israel, mine inheritance.’”

3. *Egypt and the Treaty of Hoshea, the last King of Israel, with Sevekh, the Ethiopian King of Egypt.*

The armies of Assyria advanced with irresistible steps towards Egypt by way of Damascus and Israel: but Hoshea the regicide, who then reigned over Samaria, was allured by the tempting promises of Egypt and sent ambassadors and presents to King Sevekh (2 Kings xvii. 4.) This happened in 722, a year before the siege of Samaria which ended in 719 with the storming of the city and the downfall of the northern kingdom. Isaiah however lifted up his powerful voice, when the richly laden beasts of burden of Samaria passed through Judah to Egypt, and said: Messengers and treasures may go to Tanis and Pelusium, but the end will be only deceit and bitter disappointment. His sentence runs thus (xxx. 1—7.):

“Woe to the rebellious children! saith the LORD,
who carry out a counsel that is not of me,
and enter into a covenant without my spirit:

That ye may add sin to sin!

Going down into Egypt,
without having asked of my mouth :

That ye strengthen yourselves with the strength of Pharaoh,
and trust in the shadow of Egypt.

Yet shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame:

And the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion.

Their princes may be in Zoan:

And their ambassadors may come to Hanes,

They shall all become a shame to a people that cannot profit
them:

It tends to no help, to no profit,

but to shame and to reproach.

Through a land of trouble and anguish,

from whence come the lioness and lion, the otter and flying serpent:

They carry their riches on the backs of young asses,

and upon the hunches of camels their treasures,

to a people that profiteth not.

For the help of Egypt is vain, and to no purpose:

Therefore I call it 'a blustering do-nothing.'

Here we meet for the first time with the word *Rahab*, as the prophetic name of Egypt, which we render as above—it means literally a blustering, overbearing manner. It is probably merely a symbolical mode of expressing the prevailing peculiarity of the Egyptian policy. They were hot politicians, who promised a great deal, and opened their mouths wide, relying on the wealth of the country and their military settlements, but when it came to blows they were not at their post. The prophet designated them therefore by the inimitable epigrammatic antithesis "blustering but they sit still," the sense of which we have endeavoured to give.

He then turns to the whole Jewish people and says (xxx. 1—3.):

"Woe unto them that go down to Egypt for help,

and whose stay is upon horses:

Who trust in the number of chariots and of horsemen

but look not unto the Holy One of Israel,

neither seek the LORD!

Yet he also is wise, and hath threatened evil,

and hath not called back his words:

But will arise against the house of the evildoers,

and against the help of them that work iniquity.

For Egypt is man, and not God,
 and their horses flesh, and not spirit :
 And when the LORD stretcheth out his hand,
 both he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is holpen shall
 fall down,
 and they shall all perish together."

4. *Egypt and Judah upon the Approach of the Assyrian Army
 under Sargina, 715 B. C.*

Sevekh II. died in 715, in the tenth year of Hezekiah, and Tirhaka ascended the throne of Egypt. At that time Sargina made an expedition against Egypt; the army passed through Judah, in order to take Ashdod (and Gaza). A great and decisive moment had arrived. Speaking and preaching alone were of no avail: the prophet therefore, according to the old custom of the seers, made use again of an external sign, a symbolical treatment of the subject, which no one forgot and which no one could misinterpret, and then announced a vision, an oracle of God. Thus we read in the twentieth chapter:

"In the year when Tartan came to Ashdod, when Sargon, the king of Assyria sent him, and he fought against it and took it;

At the same time the LORD spake by Isaiah, the son of Amoz, and said:

'Go and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins:
 and put off thy shoe from thy foot.'

And he did so; walking naked and barefoot. And the LORD said:

'Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot,
 as a sign and presage against Egypt and Ethiopia three years:

So shall the king of Assyria lead away captives of Egypt
 and the transported of Ethiopia,
 young and old, naked and barefoot,
 and with buttocks uncovered, the shame of Egypt.

Then shall they be afraid and ashamed:

On account of Ethiopia, their hope,
 and of Egypt, their glory.

And the inhabitant of this coast shall say in that day,

'Behold! this is our help to which we fled for help,
 to be delivered from the king of Assyria:

And how shall we escape?"

5. *The Panic in Egypt on account of Senakherib's March against Sidon, 701 B. C.*

With the above great utterance terminate the prophecies of Isaiah which have reference to the policy of Egypt in Judah. But there is one other utterance of his still to be cited, which portrays the terror of the Egyptians on account of the bold and successful movements of Sennakherib, the son of Sargon, who was then just coming on to the scene. He would seem to have marched in the third year of his reign, 701 B. C., against Syria and Phœnicia. We learn that he dethroned the king of Sidon (Ilulæus), because he had sided against the Assyrian supremacy. We read in the twenty-third chapter (1—5.) of Isaiah:

“Howl, ye ships of Tarshish! for the city is laid waste:

‘There is no more house, no more entering,’

is the message to them from the land of the Kittim.

Be silent, ye inhabitants of the coast:

Thou that hast been replenished by the merchant of Sidon
that passeth over the sea.

And on many waters was the seed of the Nile;
the harvest of the river her revenue:

And she was a mart of nations.

Blush, O Sidon!

for thus saith the sea, the citadel of the sea:

‘I have not travailed, nor brought forth children,

neither have I nourished up young men, nor brought up
virgins.’

And when the report cometh to Egypt:

They shall tremble at the report of Tyre.”

V. JEREMIAH.

Egypt and Judah in the last years of the Assyrian Supremacy.

When Sennakherib died, the hand which weighed upon Egypt was stayed, although his son, Assarhaddon, endeavoured to maintain the supremacy over it, as is testified by the cuneiform inscriptions. At that time Jeremiah, in the 13th year of King Josiah, 626, had a call to become a prophet, and commenced his career by

expressing his anger on account of the pitiful policy of Judah, which, being without any confidence in the future of the people, merely debated whether they should side with Assyria or the land of Si'hor (Nile, Yeôr). The voice of thunder which announced the martyr and prophet of the last forty years of the kingdom of Judah, that saviour of his nation, was raised in the following terms (ii. 14—18.):

“Is then Israel a slave, or born in the house?

Why was he made a spoil?

The young lions roar upon him; they make their voices to echo;
and they make waste his land,

his cities desolate, without inhabitants:

And the people of Memphis and Tachpanches
shall break the crown of thy head.

Is it not brought on you by this:

That thou hast forsaken the LORD, thy God,
at the time when he would have led thee by the way?

Therefore what booteth it that thou goest down to Egypt
in order to drink the water of the Nile?

And what shall the way to Assyria do for thee,
to drink the waters of the river?”

B.

THE PROPHETIC UTTERANCES ABOUT EGYPT AT THE TIME OF THE CHALDEAN SUPREMACY.

I. JEREMIAH.

(604 to 585 B.C.)

a. *Before the Siege of Jerusalem.*

1. *In the year after the Battle of Karkhemish, 604. (Neb. 1.; Jehoiakim, 4.)*

(Jeremiah xli. 2–12.)

“About Egypt, on account of the army of Pharaoh-Nekho, king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Karkhemish, which Nebukhadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, king of Judah.

‘Burnish shield and buckler :

And march to the battle !

Harness the horses and set riders on them,
and stand forth equipped with helmets :

Furnish the spears, put on the breast-plates.’

But why see I that they are dismayed, turned back, and their
champions routed,
fled apace and look not behind them ?

‘Fear is round about them,’ saith the LORD.

Let not the swift flee away,
and let not the champion seek to escape :

Towards the north, by the river Euphrates, they stumble and
fall.

Who is this that riseth like the Nile :

Whose waters are swelled like rivers ?

Egypt riseth like the Nile,

and the waters are swelled like rivers :

And he said, ‘I will go up, cover the earth,
will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof.’

Come up, ye horses ; and rage, ye chariots !

let the champions come forth :

Ethiopians and those of Put, who handle the shield,
and those of Lud [Libyans], who handle and bend the bow.

But this is the day of the LORD, the LORD of Hosts !

a day of vengeance to avenge Him of His adversaries ;
and the sword shall devour, and be satiate, and be drunk with
their blood :

For the Lord hath a sacrifice, the LORD of Hosts,
in the land of the north, by the river Euphrates.

Go up to Gilead and fetch balm,
thou virgin, daughter of Egypt :

In vain thou usest many medicines,
there is no healing for thee.

The nations have heard of thy shame,

and the earth is filled with thy cry :

For one champion hath stumbled over another ;
they are both fallen together.”

2. *When Nebukhadnezzar victorious, after the Battle of Kharkhemish, marched against Egypt (xli. 13—26.).*

“This is the word which the LORD spake to the prophet Jeremiah, when Nebukhadnezzar king of Babylon marched out to smite Egypt :

‘Declare in Egypt and publish in Migdol,
publish to Memphis and to Tachpanches :

Say, “Be on thy guard, and equip thyself!

for the sword hath devoured what was round about thee.”

Why is thy bull carried away?

It standeth not because the LORD overthrows it.

He maketh many of them to stumble ;

yea, they fall one upon another :

So that they say, “Up ! let us go back to our people,

home to the land of our nativity, from the cruel sword.”

They call the name of Pharaoh, king of Egypt :

“Noise, that hath passed the time appointed.” [Cp. Isa. xxx.7.]

As I live, saith the King,

the LORD of Hosts is his name :

He [Nebukhadnezzar] shall come there like a Tabor among
the mountains,

like Karmel that jutteth out into the sea.

Make thyself provision for going into captivity, thou inhabitant,
daughter of Egypt :

For Memphis shall become a waste,
and burned up, without inhabitants.

Egypt is a very fair heifer :

Truly there cometh a monster from the north.

Her hirelings also, who dwell there, like fatted bullocks,
now they turn back, flee away at once, they do not stand :

For the day of their calamity cometh on them,
the time of their visitation.

His voice goeth thither like the hissing of a serpent :

For they march with an army,
and come upon it with axes ;

as hewers of wood they cut down his wood, saith the LORD.

Even though it cannot be pierced,

they are more in number than the locusts, they cannot be counted :

Still the daughter of Egypt shall become a shame,
delivered into the hand of the people of the north.

Thus saith the LORD of Hosts, the God of Israel,

Behold ! I visit Ammon of Memphis,

and Pharaoh with Egypt,

and his gods with his kings :

Yea, Pharaoh, with all who trust in him.

That I may deliver them into the hand of them that seek their lives,
and into the hand of Nebukhadnezzar, king of Babylon, and into
the hand of his servants :

But afterwards it [Egypt] shall be inhabited as of old, saith
the LORD.”

b. *During the Siege of Jerusalem.*

Jeremiah upon the Advance of the Egyptians to raise the Siege of Jerusalem. 587 B. C. (*last year but one of the reign of Zedekiah*).

(Jeremiah xxxvii. 5—8).

“And the army of Pharaoh was come out of Egypt, and the Chaldees who besieged Jerusalem heard tidings of them, and they departed from Jerusalem. Then came the word of the LORD unto the prophet Jeremiah, saying :

‘Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel,
thus shall ye say to the king of Judah, who sent you to me, to
inquire of me :

Behold Pharaoh’s army, that came out to help you,
returning back into Egypt their own land !

But the Chaldees shall come again,
and fight against this city again :

And take it, and burn it with fire.’”

c. *After the Sack of Jerusalem.*

1. *Jeremiah against Egypt, when he came to Tachpanches after the Sack of Jerusalem.* (*After 586.*)

(xliii. 8—13.)

“And the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah in Tachpanches, saying :

Take great stones in thine hand, and hide them in the mortar at the brick-kiln, which is at the gate of Pharaoh’s house in Tachpanches, in the sight of some of the men of Judah ;

And say unto them :

‘Thus saith the LORD of Hosts, the God of Israel,
Behold, I will send and fetch Nebukhadnezzar, king of Babylon, my
servant,

and set his throne upon these stones which I have hidden :

And he shall spread his royal carpet over them.

And come and smite the land of Egypt :

Such as are for death—to death,

and such as are for captivity—to captivity,

and such as are for the sword—to the sword.

And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt,
and he shall burn them, and carry them away captive :

And he shall wrap himself up in the land of Egypt,
as the shepherd wrappeth himself up in his garment,
and shall go forth from thence in peace.

And he shall break in pieces the pillars of Heliopolis :

And the houses of the gods of Egypt shall he burn with fire.’”

2. *Jeremiah in Egypt against Pharaoh Hophra.*

(The last words of the sufferer, probably after the year 585.)

(xliv. 30.)

“Thus saith the LORD:

‘Behold I give Pharaoh-Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hand of
his enemies,

and into the hand of them that seek his life:

As I gave Zedekiah, king of Judah, into the hand of Nebu-
khadnezzar, king of Babylon, his enemy, and that sought
his life.’”Hophra reigned till 572, when he was dethroned by
Amasis. This is the event here foretold.

II. EZEKIEL

(the Prophet of the Siege and of the first period of the Captivity :
588—571).a. *During the Siege.**In the year 588 (xxix. 1—16).*“In the tenth year, on the twelfth day of the tenth month, the word
of the LORD came unto me, saying:

‘Son of man, set thy face against Pharaoh, king of Egypt:

And prophesy against him and against all Egypt.

Speak and say, Thus saith the Lord LORD,

Behold, I will be against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt,
the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers:Who saith, My river is mine own, and I have made it for
myself.

And I will put hooks in thy jaws,

and cause the fish of thy rivers to stick to thy scales:

And I will draw thee up out of the midst of thy rivers,
with all the fish of thy rivers which stick to thy scales.And I will cast thee away into the wilderness, thee and all the
fish of thy rivers,thou shalt fall upon the face of the fields, shalt not be brought
together, nor interred:I will give thee for meat to the beasts of the field and the
fowls of the air.And all the inhabitants of Egypt shall know
that I am the LORD:

Because they are a staff of reed to the house of Israel.

When they take thee by the hand, thou breakest
and rendest all their shoulder-blade :
And when they lean upon thee, thou breakest
and maimest all their loins.

Therefore thus saith the Lord LORD,
Behold, I bring a sword upon thee :
and destroy out of thee man and beast.
And the land of Egypt shall become a wilderness and a waste ;
and they shall know that I am the LORD :
Because he said, The river is mine, and I have made it.
Therefore, behold, I will be against thee and against thy rivers :
And I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate,
from Migdol to Syene, and even to the border of Ethiopia.
No foot of man shall pass through it,
nor foot of beast shall pass through it :

Neither shall it be inhabited forty years.
For I will make the land of Egypt a wilderness in the midst of
the desolate countries,
and its cities shall be a waste among the desolate cities forty years :
And I will scatter Egypt among the nations,
and disperse them in the countries.

For thus saith the Lord LORD :
At the end of forty years will I gather Egypt
from the nations whither they are scattered.

And I will reverse the destiny of Egypt,
and bring them back into the land of Pathros,
into the land of their nativity :

And they shall be there a mean kingdom.
Among the kingdoms it shall be the meanest,
neither shall it exalt itself any more among the nations :

And I will make them small,
so that they rule no more over the nations.
That the house of Israel no more place confidence in one that
bringeth iniquity to remembrance,
when they turn to look after them :

But that it may know that I am the Lord LORD."

1. *Of the year 587, the second year of the Siege.*

(xxx. 20—26. xxxi.)

a. *Of the first month.*

"And it came to pass in the eleventh year, on the seventh day of
the first month, the word of the LORD came unto me, saying :

‘ Son of man, I have broken the arm of Pharaoh, king of Egypt :
And lo ! it is not healed so that one may give medicine and put
a roller on it,
to bind it up and make it strong to hold the sword.
Therefore, thus saith the Lord LORD,
behold I am against Pharaoh, king of Egypt,
and break his arms, the strong, and that which was broken :
And I cause the sword to fall out of his hand.
And I will scatter Egypt among the nations :
And disperse them through the countries.
But I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon,
and put my sword in his hand :
And will break the arms of Pharaoh,
so that he shall groan as those who are smitten groan before
him.
Yea, I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon,
and make the arms of Pharaoh fall down :
That they may know that I am the LORD,
when I put my sword into the hand of the king of Babylon,
and he brandishes it against the land of Egypt.
And I will scatter Egypt among the nations,
and disperse them among the countries :
That they may know that I am the LORD.’”

b. From the third month.

“ And it came to pass in the eleventh year, on the first day of the
third month, the word of the LORD came unto me, saying :
‘ Son of man, speak unto Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and his multi-
tude :
To whom likenest thou thyself in thy greatness ?
Behold, Assur was a cedar tree in Lebanon,
with fair branches, and a shadowing shroud, and high stature :
And his top reached up into the clouds.
The waters made a flood that he might become great, that he
might grow tall :
Which with their streams ran around his plants,
and sent out canals to all the trees of the field.
Therefore was his growth higher than all the trees of the field :
And his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became
long,
because he had water enough to stretch himself out.
In his branches all the fowls of heaven made their nests,
and under his branches all the beasts of the field brought forth :
And under his shadow dwelt all sorts of great nations.

And he was fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches :
For his root stood in much water.

The cedars in the garden of God did not outvie him,
the cypresses were not like his branches,
and the planes were not like his shoots :

Not a tree in the garden of God was like him in his beauty.
I had made him fair in the richness of his shoots :

And all the trees of Eden, in the garden of God, envied him.

Therefore thus saith the Lord LORD,

Because thou wast tall of stature,
and he hath stretched out his top unto the clouds,
and his heart lifted up itself in its height,

I will give him [I said] into the hand of a prince of the nations :

He shall deal with him according to his wickedness —

I have driven him out.

And strangers, the mightiest of the nations, lifted him up and drove him out :

Upon the mountains and in all the valleys his branches are fallen,

and his shoots are broken off in all the depth of the earth,
and all the people of the earth are gone down out of his shadow, and have driven him away.

Upon his fallen stock all the fowls of heaven have rested :

And beneath his branches were all the beasts of the field.

That none of the trees of the water exalted themselves on account of their growth,

nor lifted up among the clouds their top ; [drink water :
neither their princes had any standing in their height, all that

For they are all delivered unto death, to the lower world,
in the midst of the children of men, to those who are gone down into the pit.

Thus saith the Lord LORD,

In the day when he went down into the pit I caused a mourning,

I covered the flood about him, and kept back the streams,
and the great waters were stayed :

And I caused Lebanon to mourn about him,
and all the trees of the field fainted about him.

With the sound of his fall I frightened the nations,
when I caused him to go down into the pit, to them who are sunk into the grave :

And all the trees of Eden comforted themselves in the pit,
the choicest and best of Lebanon, all that drink water.

They also went down into hell with him, to those who are pierced through with the sword :

And his arm, they who dwelt under his shadow in the midst of the nations.

To whom art thou thus like in glory and in splendour among the trees of Eden?

Yet art thou thrown down with the trees of Eden into the pit ;
thou shalt lie in the midst of the uncircumcised, with those who
are pierced through with the sword —
this is Pharaoh and his multitude, saith the Lord LORD.’”

2. *From the end of the year 586, the year of the Storming of Jerusalem. (xxxii. xxxiii.)*

a. xxxii. 1—16.

“And it came to pass in the twelfth year, on the first day of the twelfth month, the word of the LORD came unto me, saying :

‘Son of man, take up a lamentation for Pharaoh, king of Egypt,
and say unto him,

Thou wast like a young lion among the nations :

Whilst thou wert a dragon in the seas, [thy feet,
and camest forth in thy streams, and troubledst the water with
and fouledst his rivers.

Thus saith the Lord LORD,

And I will spread my net over thee in the company of many people :

That they draw thee up in my meshes.

And I will cast thee upon the land, on the surface of the field will
I throw thee :

And will cause all the fowls of heaven to dwell on thee,
and the beasts of the whole earth shall fatten on thee.

And I will lay thy flesh upon the mountains :

And fill the valleys with thy carcass.

And I will water the earth with the outpouring of thy blood, even
to the mountains :

That the depths may be full of thee.

And I will cover the heavens when I put thee out,
and cause his stars to mourn :

I will cover the sun with a cloud,
and the moon shall not give her light.

All the bright lights in heaven will I make dark over thee :

And bring darkness over thy land, saith the Lord LORD.

And I will vex the heart of many people :

When I bring thy destruction among the nations,
to countries which thou hast not known.

And I will cause many people to be amazed at thee,
and their kings shall shudder over thee,
when I brandish my sword before them :

So that they shall tremble suddenly, every one for his own life,
in the day of thy fall.

For thus saith the Lord LORD :

The swords of the king of Babylon shall reach thee.

By the sword of the champions will I cause thy multitude to fall;
the mightiest of the nations are they all :

And they shall spoil the pomp of Egypt,
and all his multitude shall be annihilated.

And I will destroy all his cattle from the great waters :

Neither shall the foot of man trouble them any more,
nor shall the hoofs of cattle trouble them.

For I will cause their waters to become clear,
and their rivers to run like oil :

Saith the Lord LORD.

When I make the land of Egypt a wilderness, and the land a waste,
deprived of its fullness,

when I smite all them that dwell therein :

So will they know that I am the LORD.

A song of lamentation is this, and they shall lament with it;
the daughters of the nations shall lament with it :

Over Egypt and over all its multitude shall they lament with it,
saith the Lord LORD.”

b. xxxii. 17—32.

“And it came to pass in the twelfth year, on the fifteenth day of
the same month, the word of the LORD came unto me, saying :

‘Son of man, wail for the multitude of Egypt, and let them go down :
Itself and the daughters of famous nations,
into the pit with those who are sunk into the grave.

Who is not lovelier than thou ?

Go down, and be laid among the uncircumcised.

They fall among those who are pierced through with the sword :

The sword is delivered up,
it draggeth away all its multitude.

The chief among the champions shall speak to it out of the midst of
hell with its helpers :

The uncircumcised are gone down, they lie there pierced by the
sword !

Assur is there, and all his company ;
his graves are round about him :

They are all smitten,
fallen by the sword.

His graves are made in the farthest depth of the pits,
and his company standeth round about his tomb :
They are all pierced, fallen by the sword,
which caused dismay in the land of the living.

There is Elam, and all his multitude,
round about him are his graves :
They are all smitten,
fallen by the sword,
as uncircumcised are gone down into hell ;
which caused dismay before them in the land of the living,
and have borne their shame with those who are sunk into the
pits.

In the midst of the slain they gave him his resting-place with the
whole of his multitude ;
around them are his graves :
They are all uncircumcised, pierced through by the sword ;
for their dismay was created in the land of the living ;
and they bore their shame with those who are sunk into the
in the midst of the slain is he laid. [pits ;

There is Meshekh, Tubal, and all his multitude ;
around are his graves :
They are all uncircumcised, pierced by the sword ;
for they have caused their dismay in the land of the living.
And should they not lie among the fallen champions of the un-
circumcised ?
Who go down to hell with their weapons of war,
whose swords they have placed under their heads,
so that iniquities lie upon their bones ;
for a panic of the champions was in the land of the living.
So shalt thou also be broken in the midst of the uncircumcised :
And lie among those who are pierced by the sword.

There is Edom, his kings and all his princes,
who, in spite of their valour, are placed among those who are
pierced with the sword :

They lie among the uncircumcised,
and among those who are sunk into the pits.

There are the princes of the north, all they and all the Sidonians :
Who go down with the pierced ;
in spite of the terror which arose from their valour, they are
become a shame,
and are laid down uncircumcised among those that are pierced,
and have borne their shame among those who are sunk in the
pits.

Pharaoh shall see them, and comfort himself and all his multitude :
 Pierced by the sword are Pharaoh and all his host,
 saith the Lord LORD.

For I caused him to create dismay in the land of the living :
 And it is laid among the uncircumcised with Pharaoh pierced
 by the sword, and all his multitude,
 saith the Lord LORD.”

b. *After the Sack of Jerusalem and the Raising of the Siege
 of Tyre.*

34th year of Nebukhadnezzar, 571 B.C., or the 15th year after the
 Sack of Jerusalem.

a. xxix. 17—21.

The stubborn resistance of Tyre was overcome; and Egypt in turn was now threatened with dissolution. This wonderfully poetical hymn has been even more misunderstood, or created more doubts, than the earlier prophecy about the destruction of the power of Egypt after Jerusalem was taken. Here we must make a special distinction between the *vision*, as such, and its interpretation by the prophet when meditating upon it. The fact of Nebukhadnezzar being the instrument of the destruction forms a part of his interpretation of the vision. Why should Nebukhadnezzar not have had this object in view at that time, as he had at an earlier period? The vision did not specify any particular time, why should he not refer the punishment of Egypt to Nebukhadnezzar, who with his inherent freedom of will finally resolved *not* to undertake the war?

The vision was right, the interpretation given to it by the reflecting prophet has proved to be inexact. The vision pointed to Kambyzes, and to his time and his doings the prophecy applies in a striking manner.

“And it came to pass in the seven and twentieth year, on the first day of the first month, the word of the LORD came unto me, saying :

‘Son of man, Nebukhadnezzar, king of Babylon, hath caused his
 army to undertake a hard service against Tyre ;
 every head is bald,
 and every shoulder peeled :

And yet neither he nor his army had any wages for Tyre,
 for the service that he performed against it.
 Therefore thus saith the Lord LORD, [Babylon :
 Behold, I will give the land of Egypt to Nebukhadnezzar, king of
 that he may take its multitude, and spoil the spoil, and prey the
 prey.
 that it may be wages for his army.
 I will give him the land of Egypt for the wages for which he hath
 served :
 For they have served me, saith the Lord LORD.
 In that day will I cause the horn of the house of Israel to bud forth,
 and thou shalt open thy mouth wide in the midst of them :
 That they may know that I am the LORD.”

b. From the same year. (xxx. 1—19.)

“And the word of the LORD came to me, saying :
 ‘Son of man, prophesy, and say, thus saith the Lord LORD :
 Howl ye ! woe worth the day !
 For a day is near,
 yea, a day of the LORD is near :
 A day of clouds shall the time of the nations be.
 And the sword shall come upon Egypt,
 and tribulation shall be in Ethiopia,
 when the slain shall fall in Egypt :
 They shall take away its multitude,
 and break down its foundations.
 Ethiopia, and Put, and Libya, and all the nations that aid them,
 and Nubia, and the sons of the land that is in league :
 They shall fall with them by the sword.
 Thus saith the LORD, And the supports of Egypt shall fall,
 and the pride of its power shall come down :
 From Migdol to Syene they shall fall in it by the sword,
 saith the Lord LORD.
 They shall be desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate :
 And its cities shall be in the midst of wasted cities.
 That they may know that I am the Lord :
 When I set fire upon Egypt,
 and all its helpers are broken.
 In that day shall messengers go out from me in ships,
 to make the careless Ethiopia tremble :
 And tribulation shall come upon them, as in the day of Egypt,
 for lo ! it cometh.
 Thus saith the Lord LORD :
 And I will destroy the multitude of Egypt by the hand of Nebu-
 khadnezzar, king of Babylon.

He and his people with him, the mightiest of the nations,
shall be brought to destroy the land :

And they shall draw their swords against Egypt,
and fill the land with the slain.

And I will make the rivers dry land,
and sell the land into the hand of the wicked :

And I will lay it waste, and the fullness thereof, by the hand of
strangers ;

I the LORD have spoken it.

Thus saith the Lord LORD,

And I will root out the stocks and destroy the idols of Memphis,
and there shall be no more a prince out of the land of Egypt :

And I will put fear into the land of Egypt.

And I will make Pathros desolate, and set fire on Tanis :

And execute judgment over Thebes.

And I will pour out my fury upon Pelusium, the defence of Egypt :

And destroy the multitude of Thebes.

And I will set fire in Egypt,

Pelusium shall have tribulation and fear,

and Thebes shall be broken up :

And Memphis rent asunder for ever.

The young men of Heliopolis and Bubastos shall fall by the sword :

And they themselves go into captivity.

And in Tachpanches shall the day be darkened,

when I break there the yoke of Egypt,

and the pride of its strength shall be annihilated in it :

Itself it shall be covered with a cloud,

and its daughters shall go into captivity.

And I will execute judgment upon Egypt :

that they may know that I am the LORD.'"

These visions of Ezekiel were indeed completely fulfilled. Jerusalem, it is true, fell before Memphis; but the seed of divine life which was sown there sprang up, and its fruit soared above the ruins of the first temple, as it did above those of the second. But Egypt fell, never to rise again. As Hophra succumbed to Amasis, so did Amasis to Kambyzes. In that remnant of Egypt which survived after the foundation of Alexandria, the Jewish element, and the Christian element which sprang out of it, are at all events equally important with the Hellenic.

SECTION IV.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE INTRINSIC VALUE OF EGYPTIAN
LIFE, ART, SCIENCE, AND LITERATURE.

INTRODUCTION.

As the call of man is humanity, the greatest and most glorious achievement he can undertake is the formation of a commonwealth, of the State, that is to say, the union of a people for the furtherance of the common good according to fixed laws. The State comprises in itself all other ties and associations, it combines and ennobles them, and hence it is with propriety called a commonwealth, and the goal towards which the instincts of man impel him to advance.

But this highest work of the human mind is based upon a deep foundation, and on a substructure consisting of many layers. It has its roots partly in the past history of the tribe, partly in the history of mankind. The two primitive layers are Language and Religion; and in the formation of both the same genius is operating which afterwards manifests itself in constitutional life: here is the birthplace of the national genius.

Both these portions of Egyptian history, the substructure and the building, the root of the tree and its crown, have been examined as facts of Egypt. Now comes the last question under our notice: What have been the real gain and result to mankind at large from all this mighty fabric? Is the especial development of the nation merely a humus for the production of future life, or has it created an enduring product of the mind? This is the question which is put by after ages;

for it is only in after ages, when the pressure of the powerful has ceased, when great and small are resting in the stillness of the tomb, that it can really be known what a nation has done for mankind, and it will be best known when an entirely new era has burst upon the earth. Then, indeed, thousands of years dissolve into one brief and inglorious day: the selfishness of a dynasty or of a nation counts for nothing: as their most especial act has been a negation, the reward they have reaped is either oblivion or a curse. But then, also, the great minds whose modesty has kept them in the background are seen in their true light, whether individual or national. Individuals who perhaps during their historic day have been in general ignored or persecuted, or even murdered, and nations that have been vilified and trodden under foot, shine as stars in the night of the past. Such nations may, perhaps, have been wanting in political wisdom and art, none are faultless: but who will throw the first stone at them? What are Nineveh and Babylon by the side of Greece and Judea? What are the sins and follies of these nations as compared with the unredeemed cruelties and barbarity of the Asiatic tyrants? Rome itself cannot be compared with Athens, as to lasting influence upon the world, except in her political institutions. Yet Rome, as well as Athens, is the pride of mankind.

What is the verdict to be passed upon Egypt when examined from this point of view? According to the dates furnished by Egyptian lists of kings which, on the whole, bear a historical character, although a precise chronology cannot be established, Egypt was an organized state 5863 years prior to Menes; during which period it possessed a language, and in part of it a written character. What has been the lasting gain to mankind of these last six thousand years?

Little, and yet much; much too that is glorious: much indeed that will outlive the pyramids themselves,

if the whole history of the world be not lost. Egypt during its historical period was not merely the granary of Palestine and Syria, but the model country for old civilisation in the West, as China was in the East; and, like China, it was in later times its venerable mummy. It was the intervening link between the primeval world and the new world; the connecting link between Asia and Africa, stretching through Alexandria into the old and modern life of Europe; the middle age of history; the chronometer of the races and nations which in the earliest ages spread their influences over the globe. And this significant relic of the antediluvian age is still inhabited by the descendants of the Pharaonic era, who, after a bondage of nearly two thousand years, furnish scribes for their masters, as their fathers did.

The melancholy exclamation in the Hermetic book, —“O Egypt, Egypt, a time will come when they shall despise thee and thy wisdom, and forget thy works and exploits,”—has become prophetic.

The man who uttered this sentence was an Egyptian, and of a late age, when much of what he prized and held sacred had doubtless become obsolete childish folly, a symbol that had outlived itself; here and there, perhaps, even mixed up with a little jugglery. But the man was probably right in the main. Even the errors of the Egyptians were based upon wisdom: they sprang out of truth, and were not without truth in the mind of the people. But it must be admitted that the world-historical importance of Egypt is her steady adherence to the faith, and wisdom, and thought delivered to her. Egypt gave it a stamp and impress and then preserved it. Without her that precious link of civilisation would have been lost: for the mother-country, Western Asia, advanced to new formations.

The last pages of this Book, and of our Work, are intended to be the epitaph of Egypt from this point of

view only. Most of the details we possess of the ordinary Egyptian life are either inaccurate and uncertain, or only objects of curiosity. That prose of daily life expressed upon their tombs has nothing very inviting for ethical contemplation. But we possess already, thanks to the efforts of Champollion's school, great facts, authentic specimens of primitive thought and truth, of piety and virtue.

I.

THE FORMATION OF LANGUAGE.

THAT step in the development of the primitive language of Asia, which survives as a deposit in Egyptian,* represents one of the most marvellous and vastest strides which mankind has made. Primitive Turanism had certainly passed beyond the stage of unmitigated Chinese realism, but that advance was very imperfect, and might well appear to the Chinese as a deterioration and malformation. The identity of syllable and word, of thing and picture, was abandoned: the swaddling clothes were removed. But instead of monosyllables there appeared long-winded words, formed out of primitive words agglutinated together, after having been degraded into unreal particles. It was in Khamism that the human mind first gained the mastery over this unsightly phasis of transition. The parts of speech stood out in their separate form: the prefixes and suffixes took an organic shape as subordinate sounds: pure vowels expressed plurality or independence. Intellect was evinced in all the endings. Monosyllabic substantives acted an important part: dissyllabics announced themselves as being evidently picturesque amplifications and strengthenings of the roots: and out of them again shoots and branches sprouted forth. The mind conceived the idea of the Copula, that is to say, it became conscious of

its autonomic act in joining subject and predicate into a sentence. In Semitic the copula is expressed by the personal pronoun (God **HE** good); the Arian employs the verb substantive (God **IS** good); the Khamite can say both or nothing.

By this process the way was paved for Semism, and the foundation indeed of the perfect formative language, Iranism, was laid. For Khamism, although without the artistic and intellectual completeness of Semism, has not the same one-sidedness. But it is the first step which renders those two latter gigantic fabrics of the language-building mind possible. The formation which was preserved in Egypt possesses also internally a peculiar charm of its own, like every work of nature and every organic intellectual product. The primitive meaning of roots, and of the particles, is much more transparent in Egyptian than in Hebrew and Sanskrit.

Lastly, Khamism possesses a special charm of its own and a lasting value, through the pictorial representation sometimes of things, sometimes of syllables, sometimes of pure simple sounds. In them we admire, and have a foretaste of, that artistic feeling which is manifested in the historical age of the Egyptians. Here again, as there, animal life is the centre of symbolism. The animal figures, indeed, take such a prominent place, that the Greeks called the hieroglyphics "animals."

II.

THE INSTITUTES OF RELIGION: ANIMAL-WORSHIP AND METEMPSYCHOSIS.

STILL more striking and important to history are the fundamental thoughts and acts of religious institution, as exhibited in the worship, the religious philosophy, and the creed of the Egyptians.

Africa, whose characteristic tendencies were towards brute feticism, was drawn by Egypt into the vortex of Asia's mythological speculations, but this was a civilising progress. Arabia, before Mohammed, had an idol-worship streaming with blood. Set is an Egyptian Molokh: but Egypt soon abolished the immolation of human victims. Their own creation, Osiris, is already a Dionysos-like God: the God who suffers as God-man is at length victorious, and now judges human souls by the law of the conscience. In the Osiris-theology there is no physical mythology, except solar symbolism. But the worship centres in the antitheses of right and wrong, holiness and vice. This Osiris-theology is Egyptian, and it subdued the worship of the blood-thirsty Set.

The Egyptians, in harmony with the character of their Osiris-worship, retained from the primeval world a belief in human personality as an indestructible vital power. This faith was exhibited in early times by the worship of Ancestors, a faith deeply seated also in Greece and Rome, and which has always been and still is the popular religion of the heathen Chinese.

The Egyptians were the first who taught the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, a fact mentioned by all Greek writers from Herodotus to Aristotle, and one brilliantly confirmed by the monuments.

The belief in the transmigration of the human soul into the bodies of animals, which was connected with it, is, as far as we can glean from the mythology of Asia, an Egyptian provincialism. Animal-worship dates from the earliest times in Egypt, and became soon after the time of Menes the established religion throughout the empire (in the second dynasty). But the Egyptian doctrine of the transmigration of souls can alone explain this singular phenomenon as a point of popular belief and its public recognition. A sacred link was

formed between animal and human life by that creed, and a mystical hypothesis having in course of time produced a symbol, this symbol grew into a superstitious worship, sanctioned soon after Menes as part of the state-religion. It was a concession made to Africanising Upper Egypt, but as the child of ancestral worship.

The fundamental concession, therefore, to which we here recur, must have been the feeling of the identity of the principle of life in animal nature and in all living beings. And what is this but a specific adaptation of that consciousness of the divinity of nature which is implied in all the religious consciousness of the old world? It is in vain to resort either to wonder or fear for the explanation of animal-worship. Neither the one nor the other will answer the purpose in the case of the harmless serpent. It will hardly be suggested that the deification of the cat is attributable to its usefulness in killing mice; or that of the crocodile, the jackal, and the wolf, to fear of their hostility, as though these animals would become less hostile to man because they were worshipped. It is equally impossible to suppose that solar symbolism was in any degree the original cause of animal-worship, although some sacred animals have in the mystic theology of the Menes-empire a conventional astronomical meaning. The African root of the Egyptian animal-worship may then have been a provincial feticism, the lowest degradation of religious worship, because the farthest removed from moral consciousness. But it is certain that there was a spiritual root, Asiatic as to origin, Egyptian as to its peculiarity. The groundwork is a consciousness of moral responsibility and a belief in the personal indestructibility of the human soul. A judgment is passed upon it at the point of death, and the punishment consists in its being condemned to be lowered from human to animal life, and one regulated by brutal instincts. This community between the human and animal soul being once admitted, one can

understand how the Egyptians at last arrived at the idea of worshipping in animals a living manifestation of Divinity. The animals were to be mere symbols, but became, by the inherent curse of idolatry, real objects of worship.

Starting from this higher point of view, which rests now on positive grounds and is perfectly real and concrete, we are enabled to explain the origin, growth, duration, and all the details of animal-worship. When once the feeling of the divine and wonderful in animal nature was combined by means of moral consciousness with the internal life of man through the transmigration of souls, the Egyptians ceased to feel any repugnance towards animals—the crocodile, for instance: their useful as well as mischievous qualities, courage as well as timidity, acquired a mysterious charm, as being a travesty of human propensities and circumstances, and a living image of the temporary punishment of the rational soul.

The real meaning of the celebrated passage in Herodotus (ii. 135.) about the reasons why the Egyptians bestowed so much care on the preservation of the body, and, as it were, on preventing it from passing away, must have been this. They believed in a resurrection of the body, so far at least that the aim of the soul was a new personal life as man, perhaps after having been doomed to undergo transmigration through animal bodies for 3000 years; the same period as was assumed by Plato for the wandering of the soul, and termed by him the Cycle of Necessity, according to Pythagorean usage. The soul, on the death of its body, might pass into some animal form or other which came into existence at the very moment, before it returned again into the human body, in a higher or lower state. Man justified is one with God, the eternal Creator, self-created. His bodily organ therefore is holy. This doctrine we may now read in every page of their sacred

books. Thence the popular notion in Egypt, that, unless its old human envelope was preserved, the soul would be subject to disturbances and hindrances in performing its destined course. This doubtless, as compared with the original sacerdotal view, was a gross superstition, but a very wholesome one in the eyes of legislators, and especially in a country so thickly peopled as Egypt. The Greeks and Romans had an equal faith in burial, as necessary to insure the entry of the soul into the invisible world of spirits. And has the Jewish and Christian doctrine of the Resurrection fared much better than the Egyptian one?

As the whole turn given to this doctrine is Egyptian, so in particular is the 3000 years' duration of the migration of the soul. Whether this represents six Phœnix cycles, or, what I think the more probable assumption, fifty of the primitive cycles of sixty years, resolved into one hundred periods of 30 years (*triakonta-eterides*), we certainly find no explanation for it in Chaldea, or Western Asia generally. There the nearest period would be 3600 years, which resolve themselves into 60 times 60.

Finally, the whole ethical tendency of the doctrine and of the popular creed is strictly Egyptian. They did not indulge in fantastic wanderings among the stars, or in mystic pictures of life in God. The soul of the departed appeared before its Judge with a repudiation of sins, of wickedness, and of all the vices which result from sensuous gratification. A similar one was made at the moment of interment. Porphyry's account, which has been so frequently canvassed, is, in its essentials, thoroughly corroborated by the "Book of the Dead" and the inscriptions in the tombs. Of this, the most ancient portion of the sacred books, we are now enabled by the translation of Mr. Birch to give some authentic extracts bearing upon the point in question.

III.

THE BELIEF IN PERSONAL MORAL RESPONSIBILITY AND IN IMMORTALITY, AS EXPRESSED IN THE "BOOK OF THE DEAD."

THE heathen philosopher tells us¹⁴⁴ that, on the occasion of a solemn funereal ceremony, the bowels of the deceased, before the relations proceeded to the embalmment, were placed in a vessel set apart for the purpose, which was held up and exhibited to the all-searching Helios-Ra, while one of the assistants offered the following prayer for the deceased, as translated by Euphantos from the Egyptian :

"O king Helios, and all ye life-giving Gods ! [Gods :
Take me to yourselves ; suffer me to be companion of the eternal
For I have honoured the Gods my whole life through, to whom my
parents devoted me.

To the persons of my parents have I always shown respect :
Of other men none have I put to death ;
None have I defrauded of what was intrusted to me ;
Nor have I been guilty of any other impious act.
But if I have sinned in life by eating or drinking what was not
permitted,

I have not so sinned from myself, but owing to these."

"And saying this," Porphyry concludes, "he cast the vessel into the river."

It would seem that the last line is really a translation of an Egyptian apophthegm found in a monumental inscription, which, as far as I know, was first translated and published by Rosellini¹⁴⁵, and confronted by him with Porphyry's text. It consists of four monosyllabic words :

Righteousness to his spirit !	His evil deeds to the stomach !
(ma ba . f :	hu . f hati)

¹⁴⁴ De Abſtinentiâ, iv. § 10. See the ſagacious and truth-loving Rosellini's remarks on this ſubject generally, in the *Mon. Civ.* iii. cap. vii. pp. 284—502., by far the beſt offered by any Egyptologer.

¹⁴⁵ *Mon. Civ.* p. 330.

But the whole prayer is authentic. We find more than one of such formularies of an exactly similar kind. The two most explicit are those contained in chap. cxxvi. of the "Book of the Dead," that justification of man before God which was appropriately termed by Champollion "the negative confession of sins." We have now the satisfaction of laying the whole before our readers, from the printed sheets of Mr. Birch's translation for the supplementary volume of this work.

This remarkable document is a speech addressed by the soul of the deceased to Osiris and the forty-two judges assisting him in the tribunal of Hades, "the Lords of Truth." Some of the unintelligible ritual allusions and names are omitted.

"OH ye Lords of Truth! Oh thou Great God, Lord of Truth! I have come to thee, my Lord. I have brought myself to see thy blessings. I have known thee. I have known thy name. I have known the names of the forty-two of the Gods who are with thee in the Hall of Two Truths, living by catching the wicked, fed off their blood, the day of reckoning words, before the Good Being, the justified. Placer of Spirits, Lord of Truth, is thy name.

"Oh ye Lords of Truth! let me know ye. I have brought ye truth. Rub ye away my faults. I have not done privily evil against mankind. I have not afflicted persons or men. I have not told falsehoods in the tribunal of Truth. I have had no acquaintance with evil. I have not done any wicked thing. I have not made the labouring man do more than his task daily. I have not let my name approach to the boat. My name approaches to the mast, when I have not been idle. I have not failed. I have not ceased. I have not been weak. I have not done what is hateful to the Gods. I have not calumniated the slave to his master. I have not sacrificed. I have not made to weep. I have not murdered. I have not given orders to smite a person privily. I have not done fraud to men. I have not changed the measures of the country. I have not injured the images of the Gods. I have not taken scraps of the bandages of the dead. I have not committed adultery. I have not spat against the priest of the God of my country. I have not thrown down, I have not falsified measures. I have not thrown out the weight of the balance [?]; I have not cheated in the weight of the balance. I have not withheld milk from mouths of sucklings. I have not

hunted wild animals in their pasturages. I have not netted sacred birds. I have not caught the fish which typify them. I have not stopped running water. I have not separated the water from its current. I have not put out a light at its [proper] hour. I have not robbed the Gods of their offered haunches. I have not turned away the cattle of the Gods. I have not stopped a God from his manifestation. I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure!

1. I have not been idle.
2. I have not waylaid.
3. I have not boasted.
4. I have not stolen.
5. I have not smitten men privily.
6. I have not counterfeited rings or measures.
7. I have not played the hypocrite.
8. I have not stolen the things of the Gods.
9. I have not told falsehoods.
10. I have not spared eating bread.
11. I have not caused to weep.
12. I have not rejected.
13. I have not been idle.
14. I have not eaten the heart.
15. I have not plundered.
16. I have not killed sacred beasts.
17. I have not made conspiracies.
18. I have not robbed the streams.
19. I have not listened.
20. I have not let my mouth wander.
21. I have not taken a tittle of things.
22. I have not corrupted the wife of another.
23. I have not polluted myself.
24. I have not caused fear.
25. I have not plundered.

26. I have not burned my mouth.
27. I have not been inattentive to the words of truth.
28. I have not blasphemed.
29. I have not put forth my arm.
30. I have not made delays, or dawdled.
31. I have not hastened my heart.
32. I have not clipped the skins of the sacred beasts.
33. I have not multiplied words in speaking.
34. I have not lied or done any wicked sin.
35. I have not reviled the face of the king or of my father.
36. I have not defiled the river.
37. I have not made loud words.
38. I have not blasphemed a God.
39. I have not injured the Gods, or calumniated the slave to his master.
40. I have not laid plans, I have not made his account, I have not ordered.
41. I have not augmented plans, I have not taken the clothes of the dead.
42. I have not despised a God in my heart, or to his face, or in things.

The ejaculations 15. and 25. are identical, but addressed to different Gods. This document exhibits as the groundwork of Egyptian religion the principle of moral responsibility, but few traces of which are found in the Vedas and all the monuments of physical religions. There exists therefore an undeniable similarity between this declaration and the decalogue and the other moral precepts of the Mosaic Law. There is also a similarity between the Egyptian and Mosaic legislation in the abomination of unclean things which pervades them both. In the 53rd chapter, for instance, we read :

“I hate what is unclean, and eat it not.”

The Semitic idea of uncleanness was, therefore, also a Khamitic feeling, as the most ancient documents of Egypt prove.

On the other hand it is clear that the self-justifying conscience clung to external works, and to the self-satisfaction and self-righteousness connected with them. However, the general impression on an honest Egyptian mind, as to these formulas and their teaching, must have been something like this. Any one unable to make such a confession with a good conscience before the infallible Judge of the Souls will not appear at all before his face, nor be admitted to behold him. He is doomed to pursue the dark path of destiny through the lower forms of creation. Eternal life is living in the presence of God. Man is the son of God Almighty: the Gods of nature (deified and worshipped elements, including the disk of the sun) are not the lords of man, but destined to serve him. He does not require their mediation to approach God, his father.

Innumerable are the passages of the “Book of the Dead,” in documents scarcely posterior to 3000 years before our era, expressing this doctrine. We have no space here for the details, or for chronological argu-

ments. We merely subjoin the opening of the Book of Transformations in the Ritual, ch. lxxiii.:

“ Oh Soul! greatest of created beings, let me come, having seen and passed, having passed the Gate to see my father Osiris. I have made way through the darkness to my father Osiris. I am his beloved. I have come to see my father Osiris. I stab the heart of Sut. I do [or make] the things of my father Osiris. I have opened every door in heaven and earth. I am his beloved son. I have come from the dead an instructed Spirit. Oh every God and Goddess! I have come along.”

In chap. lxxxv. the moral, and therefore Biblical, character is very prominent, where the soul of the departed says :

“ I do not go to the place of punishment. I do not do any thing to arouse the hatred of the Gods ; for I am the ruling spirit of Osiris, who loves me.”

The former of these quotations seems to make direct reference to the migration of the soul.

The supposition is that the soul, coming out of the regions of the dead, appears before the Hall of Judgment, which is guarded by Anubis, the accuser of the souls, and demands entrance. It begs to see its father Osiris ; it claims to be his child : the sorrows and trials of its wanderings are over.

But there is beneath that longing for the world to come a deep sadness as to the present. On the whole, the origin of all such fictions from the other world can only be a retrospective reflex of finite consciousness into the Infinite, a projection of the life of man on earth and the earthly condition of the soul into the Divinity. The state of the real world does not *produce* the consciousness of the Infinite, but it certainly *modifies* it. The germ and foundation of historical religion in Egypt lie in the feeling of terrestrial existence being a burthen, of the life in the body being a prison-house, in short, in despair as to the realities of existence. This is the predominant feeling in Egypt and in historical gentile Asia. There were, doubtless, minds of a higher order, in which it was

purified into a longing after sinlessness, after the life in God, a longing compatible with a happy life on earth; but the former sentiment was the one generally entertained.

The chapter certainly would not be older than the thirteenth century B.C., if Set (Sut, Sothis) were here represented as Typhon, the God of destruction, the Evil One, the Serpent; whose heart Horus has pierced through, as every believer was likewise expected to do. Still the phrase is old, in a symbolic sense, as referring to the solar year.

The main points in the formulas of the "Book of the Dead" may therefore be summed up as follows. According to the creed of the Egyptians, the soul of man was divine, and therefore immortal. It is subject to personal moral responsibility. The consequence of evil actions is banishment from the presence of God. Faith transfers venial sins to the account of the body, which is, in consequence, doomed to annihilation. Man, when justified, becomes conscious that he is a son of God, and destined to behold God at the termination of his wanderings. We read on the tomb of Rameses V., in respect to the souls of the wicked:¹⁴⁶

"They behold not this Great God (Helios-Ra):
 Their eyes are not refreshed by the rays of his disk:
 Their souls are not illuminated in the world:
 They hear not the voice of the Great God
 Who rises above their path."

Of the souls of the good, on the contrary, it is said:

"This Great God speaketh to them, and they to him:
 The splendour of his disk illumines them,
 Standing in their path."

These words are obviously to be understood morally. The sun's path is clearly only the sacred symbol for the path of man on earth, and for the wandering of the soul after death. Light and darkness are life and death.

This view of the connexion between the belief in im-

¹⁴⁶ Ros. : Mon. Civ. p. 327—329.

mortality and that of the migration of the soul through animal bodies explains the doctrine of animal-worship, and the representation of deities with human bodies and animal heads; it is, however, to be remarked that Osiris, the God of the spiritual world, the Judge of the soul, has never any but the human form. The Egyptians believed that there was something divine in every animal. Some of them, the bull and the goat, for instance, were direct symbols of the generating power of nature. Each of these might contain the soul of some ancestor still undergoing its purgatorial wandering, and, as already remarked, the worship of the dead is one of the primitive elements of Egyptian religion. Every coffin shows that this ancestral worship had taken a very firm hold of their minds, as firm almost as it has of the Chinese.

It is equally clear, however, that with this comfortless incubus of symbolism were closely connected ethical ideas; those moral feelings which regulate human life and repress the outbursts of savage nature, namely, the faith in a moral government of the world, in personal moral responsibility, in a personal divine judgment.

IV.

THE METEMPSYCHOSIS IN THE EGYPTIAN NOVEL, AND CONCLUSION.

THE belief in the transmigration of the soul seems to have pervaded even the latest and most popular branch of Egyptian literature, the novel. The remarkable romance of the "Two Brothers," for which we are indebted to De Rougé, proves how deep-seated an influence the doctrine of the wandering of the soul had exercised on the habits and customs of the Egyptians. On it the whole plot and machinery of the story are based. The hero may die as often as the author pleases; it seems even that he may become a tree

for a considerable period. At last, however, the supremacy of the moral government of the world is shown in his case as in the history of Job. Evil is punished; the Good Principle is victorious; the hero becomes a man again, and his daughter attains a high destiny.

As regards the idea itself which was represented symbolically in this animal-worship, we may acknowledge a general affinity between it and that which led in early times to the worship of the golden calf in Asia, and to the representation of the Creative deity as the generative power in the bull. But we must not lose sight of the difference, that the notion was generalised by the Egyptians, the adoration was paid to the living animal as the symbol of the living Gods. It was a religious animal-hieroglyph carried out to the full.

This connexion between animal-worship and the belief in immortality alone explains the most extraordinary phenomena in this symbolism; for instance, the solemn and costly interment and the preservation of the mummies of the sacred animals, as we now find them in the Apis shrines of Memphis.

We have noticed the ethical side of the worship, which gave a higher significancy to popular belief and ennobled it. But we have not altogether exhausted the idea of the transmigration. It does not exclude the existence of a higher feeling, even though that may have remained incomplete in a dialectical point of view. The Egyptians, who taught or transmitted this idea, started from the notion which Plato has so grandly developed in the *Phædrus* and others of his writings. Man has no remembrance of an anterior state of personal being, and yet the appearance of the soul in the world cannot be explained without a slumbering consciousness of things and of their connexion. The dogma of the wandering of the soul into animals, as being an expiation of past sins, explained to him both these intuitive feelings.

It is only by considering how very deeply this sense of immortality was engrafted in the Egyptian mind that we can comprehend the passion for the monstrous and colossal proportions of the Pyramids, and at the same time the glorious emblematical and artistic character of those works of the Old Empire. As animal-worship is merely the Egyptianised African form of an early Asiatic conception, so is also the combination of the care for the preservation of the body, and, if possible, its protection from destruction, connected with the doctrine of immortality. The soul was immortal, but its happiness, if not the possibility of its continuing to live, depended upon the preservation of the body. The destruction of the body consequently involved the destruction of the soul.

We assuredly owe the stupendous fabric of the Pyramids to a superstitious fear of the destruction of the body, rather than to the mere vanity and love of display on the part of their builders. The judgment passed by the people on their kings after death (as upon every other person who died) was, at the epoch of the first dynasties, no empty form. Now the royal builders of the largest Pyramids were, according to universal tradition, haughty cruel tyrants, who had good reasons to be apprehensive of the popular verdict, the ordeal they would have to pass at the hands of the people and priests. It was no easy matter for any one to find his way into the Pyramids; each of them had its own secret barrier to prevent intrusion: but, at all events, a forcible entry into them was quite impossible.

We find therefore on all sides a deep-seated and strong religious foundation, accompanied however, invariably, with a comfortless inability to embrace the idea in its purity. This inability, combined with the artistic impulses of the Egyptians, led to the colossal perversities which arose out of a superstitious adherence to the

notion of the value of the body, and which clung with a rigid gripe to the materialistic principle. This was the tribute paid by the Asiatics, in earliest times, for the occupation of Africa and the possession of the valley of the Nile. Nevertheless the services which the Egyptians have rendered to mankind are very great, by giving an ethical development to that intoxicating and perplexing worship of nature which existed in Asia, by raising it into a belief in undying personality, and making this the popular creed. They have therefore a claim to the merit of having, in their own way, treated religion in a highly ethical sense, and they have made this view the people's faith. The combination of the idea with external worship was effected by moral views. The ordeal of the conscience of the people is the type of the inevitable ordeal of Osiris, the infallible and the true. Man's conscience is God's judgment. The soul of every pious and good man becomes Osirian, strictly speaking Osiris himself, that is to say, is deified. Man dies to live again, as Osiris (the soul of the sun) dies daily :

"The Osiris lives after he dies, like the sun, daily : for as the sun dies and is born in the morning, so the Osiris is born." (chap. iii.)

To God, the father of the soul, the Eternal, every soul born into this world is tending through the darkness of death. Thus says the departed to Osiris, the soul of the world :

"O Soul, greatest of things created, let the Osiris enter : he has been seen passing from the gate : he sees his father Osiris : he makes a way in the darkness to his father Osiris : he is his beloved son : he has come to see his father Osiris : he is the son beloved by his father : he has come from the mummy a prepared spirit." (ch. ix.)

The soul comes with stains upon it, but upon its entreaty God wipes them off :

"The God Strife is then as the God Peace with the great staff in his hand, and he says : I have brought it to thee ; thou livest by it : the Osiris lives by it, he is at rest : obliterating the evil stain which is in thy heart." (chap. xiv.)

It is in this idea, consequently, that the important point for general history, as regards the religious notions of the Egyptians, essentially lies. It corroborates the judgment of Herodotus, and the veneration and respect entertained by the Greeks for the mysteries of the Egyptian faith, and its internal relationship with their own. It justifies, in a word, their admiration for the very ancient and thorough civilisation of the nation.

V.

ART.

THE importance of Egypt for universal history becomes most brilliantly conspicuous in its art. This is the brightest star in the Egyptian firmament, and has a lasting value, not merely from a purely artistic or merely technical point of view, but likewise intellectually and ethically. Man's artistic instinct manifests itself first in the two arts of the pure harmony of proportions, music and architecture. Then follow, in conformity with the organic law of development, the arts of form: first, sculpture, which is plastic art, properly speaking; painting comes last. Now this is exactly the course of Egyptian art, as much as it is that which we observe in the Greek, Latin, and Germanic development. We are therefore entitled to call that course an organic one. As to music, it is the art born with language, as dancing was with walking: for primitive speaking is intoning, and primitive walking is rhythm. The harp is represented on the monuments of the Old Empire; and the sacred hymns, the most ancient part of the ritual, had undoubtedly their accompaniment. But, alas! music has no monuments. The originality and eminence of the Egyptians in architecture, in plastic art proper (statuary and relief-work), and in monumental painting, are, however, universally acknowledged; and

we may now positively assert that architecture is pre-eminently the art of the Old Empire, whereas sculpture and painting reach their culminating point early in the New (from Horus to Rameses II).

The ancient Architecture maintained itself in the Thebaid, at least mechanically, during the Hyksos period: the New Empire was ushered in with a novel and provincial style, the mannerism of which however was strongly marked.

The interior of the tombs, and in particular of the Pyramids, exhibits the most striking example of the grandeur of the style of the Old Empire, and of its artistic perfection. The temples, tombs, and palaces of the 12th Dynasty (of which, unfortunately, there are but few remains) are evidences of a progress in symmetry and beauty. Here we discover the embryo of the idea of the Doric column, in the shape of its pilaster with entablature and cornice, as the tombs of Benihassan show. We do not mean by this to intimate that there was any possible historical connexion between Egyptian and Greek architecture. Strictly speaking none such has ever existed in art, any more than in mythology and the constitutional life of historical times. To the same period belong the grandest edifices as regards art and hydraulic science, the Labyrinth and the Lake of Mœris.

The date of the foundation of the vastest edifice in the world, the Temple of Belus, as the watch-tower of Babel, is, according to Manetho's tables, almost identical with that of the Great Pyramid. We shall show in the Epilogue that it is anterior to the Pyramids by five centuries; but still the architectonical form of the Temple of Belus exhibits a greater development of architecture and sculpture than the Great Pyramid, which rises in grand mathematical simplicity without any divisions or ornament. But, in the interior, the Pyramid exhibits a much higher order of art than the Temple. All that remains of that of King Menkheres, the builder

of the most gorgeous Pyramid, the third at Gizeh, unfortunately, is an accurate drawing of the sarkophagus given in this work. This drawing is sufficient, however, to mark the contrast between the delicacy of the lines and the antique Doric grandeur of the proportions in the monuments of the Old Empire, and the turgid ornaments of the New. That the buildings of the most ancient age of the Old Empire were superior to the later is expressly stated in the extracts of Manetho, who says that the edifices of Menes surpassed those of his successor. The museum at Berlin, it is true, contains specimens of the progress made in architecture, as to the more free artistic treatment of the original wooden constructions, in the course of the 4th Dynasty; but it also marks no less strongly the classical severity of the earlier style.

The Sculpture of the New Empire found its prophet in Winckelmann. He was the first to understand, not only its internal excellence, but its vast importance as the forerunner of Grecian plastic art. It was he who discovered the epochs in its organic development.

The secret of the proportions of the human body was first revealed to the Egyptians. They it was who laid down its first canon, which the Greeks were only able to improve upon according to the models of their own perfect proportions, and complete by breathing into the human form the soul, the expression of the mind, the feeling. In the ideal delineation of animal life and animal forms the Egyptians were never surpassed. But it is an unfounded prejudice that the plastic art of Egypt sometimes represented the human countenance itself in those of their Gods, without ideal beauty; and that their portraits had no individuality. In representing their Gods their ideal is monotonous and wanting in that individuality of expression which the Greeks succeeded in giving, when idealising human personality; nor is it of so elevated a character as the

Grecian: but it is noble, and correct according to the rules of art. The Asiatic deities, even the Indian, are frequently monsters, with many heads and many hands, and a ferocious expression. Of these monstrosities the only one they retained was the Old-Phœnician (Edomite) Pataikos, the temple figure of Ptah, Hephaistos. As compared with the Asiatic deities, the Egyptians are the only true prototypes of the Hellenic; their ideal is noble and strictly human. The African type in the Egyptian face is less marked; their Gods remind us of the Asiatic ideal executed with great artistic feeling.

As to portraits of Pharaohs or priests, and as to the representation of such Egyptians as were neither, they show not only the general national character, but also individuality. This has been proved authentically, for the first time, in the last numbers of the great Prussian work. We see in the Pharaonic portraits of the best periods of the New Empire a personal character, though unfortunately in most cases history gives no commentary upon them. Still the observer cannot fail to remark the unmeaning expression of Tuthmōsis II., the type of command in his sister, the fine and beautiful features of Tuthmōsis III. Horus looks like a weak enthusiast, which he was; the aquiline nose and Asiatic forehead of Rameses II. are well-known: but his great father, Sethos I., is the prototype of the nobleness of his features. There is a wonderful difference between Amenōphis II. and III., and the weak-minded bigot who tried to introduce the adoration of the sun's disk, instead of the ideal worship of Ra. The lifeless type in artificial models was first introduced when art was on the decline.

The statues of private individuals lately discovered by Mariette and now in the Louvre, which appear to be older than the 6th Dynasty, offer a most satisfactory confirmation of the views here enunciated, and give us an insight into the commencement of art in the Old

Empire, which could hardly have been anticipated. Among these the figure of the squatting scribe is especially remarkable. You see by the whole expression of his countenance and the posture of his body, that he is attentively listening to catch the words which he is to take down. Everything about him is drawn from nature, but subject to the laws of the beautiful and the rules of that real art which does not interpret and copy nature mechanically, but rather seizes its spirit, and as it were reproduces it. There is no trace of the subsequent conventional style, no lifeless canon. Everything exhibits individual life and personality. So then in Egypt, as elsewhere, the fresh vigour of art is demonstrably older than the tethnical stamp. The human frame is the original, not the mummy of rigid caste rules, of academical and merely technical contrivance. But even this conventional style is as old as the 6th Dynasty, or at all events prior to the 12th. The portrait of Khephren, builder of the highest Pyramid, lately discovered by Mariette near the colossal Sphinx, shows the same character of individuality.

The most universal merit of Egyptian sculpture may therefore be stated to be a keen artistic feeling for what is characteristic in nature, and a faithful imitation of it by means of drawing, fortified by mathematical and anatomical studies, indispensable for a severe art. The attitudes in the pictures of the Gods and statues of the Pharaohs in the Old Empire are stiff, conventional, and kept, as it were, in the leading-strings of caste rigidity, but they are not without expression and life.

The same may be said of their Painting, except that in Egypt, as in the Old World generally, it was not applied to objects of worship. The drawing is severe, spirited, and bold; perspective, of course, was disregarded, as it was by the Greeks.

What constitutes the highest value of Egyptian art

are its sterling character, its artistic truth, its faithful perception of nature, and that severe execution which is the only real way of arriving at perfect beauty. There is no proof of their having exercised any influence upon Kretan artists, nor is it probable in itself that there was such a connexion.

VI.

GEOMETRY AND ASTRONOMY.—CHEMISTRY AND ANATOMY.

LESS importance for the history of mankind is to be expected from the science of the Egyptians. Yet, even in this department, it is impossible not to remark that the efforts they made were of no despicable kind. The classic writers attribute to them the invention of Geometry by means of land-measuring, and, its natural consequence, Arithmetic. The specimens of their land-measuring published by Lepsius, and the mathematical precision of the Pyramids and engineering works of the Old Empire, afford sufficient testimony to the truth of this remark. Their knowledge of mechanics and of the cognate mathematical principles is evinced no less by the artistic perfection of their buildings, than by the vastness of their masses. But this will not justify us in supposing them to have possessed a really scientific knowledge of these subjects. It was ingenuity, based upon a keen natural perception, guided by the elements of geometric science. The groundlessness of the fancies which have been again very recently indulged in about the astronomical purposes of the Pyramids, and about a hidden symbolical system of astronomy, is demonstrated by that thorough conviction which is forced upon us by a view of the monuments and the reading of the hieroglyphics.

Their Astronomy, like everything Egyptian, was

strictly provincial, and calculated only for the meridian of Egypt. Although they had no intercalary years, still, by their accurate observation of the quarter of a day in excess in a year of 365 days, they taught the Romans to construct the Julian year, and Lepsius has proved that they were so well aware of the insufficiency of the intercalary cycle of four years, that they were able to correct it by artificial cycles, which are almost as old as the foundation of the empire of Menes.

To us the dispute about the first invention of the gnomon and the art of measuring the shadows, as well as the unit of their measures, is of little importance. According to our conception of general history, the impossibility of Egypt reacting upon Asia is absolute. But even the supposition that the Chaldeans were the teachers of the Egyptians is, in our estimation, an absurdity. The historical Chaldees are Semites, and Khamism is anterior to the existence of Semitic life: there was no common bond of intercourse between the historical Chaldees and Egyptians. It is true, however, that in this instance, as in others, they had a common origin in primitive Asia.

Chemistry, or the art of separating substances, takes its name from Egypt, which is called Khemi, the Black. Their earliest kings are said to have written on Anatomy; and perhaps certain extant apothecaries' signs, mentioned in an earlier page when speaking of their numerals, may be cited in proof that the art of medicine and medical remedies, as all the annalists state, were indigenous in Egypt. A high antiquity is assigned to their anatomical writings, and their astronomical or astrological representations evince an accurate knowledge of the parts of the body and the functions of the limbs.

VII.

LITERATURE:—SACRED BOOKS.—PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS.—
PROVERBS.—HISTORICAL WRITINGS.—HISTORICAL MONU-
MENTS.—NOVELS AND HUMORISTIC PRODUCTIONS.

I. THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE "BOOK OF
THE DEAD."

We have endeavoured to prove in the First Volume (p. 25—29., comp. 9—24.) that the sacred books of the Egyptians were the books of the priests, written by priests, and that this sacerdotal literature was primitive. We gave on that occasion the reasons which seemed to support our assertion that the "Book of the Dead" belonged to the fourth class of these sacred books, and must be considered as one of the most ancient among them. We can now give the complete proof of these assertions. Mr. Birch's translation of that most important of the sacred books, and the only one preserved, has been completed. It was printed in the first half of the year 1859 for the supplementary volume of this work, as well as the critical introduction which is to precede the translation; and was placed in my hands, by Mr. Cottrell, in the month of July last year. By this colossal performance that eminent Egyptologist has opened up a rich and authentic source of information as to Egyptian religion, and the history of the religious ideas and aspirations of mankind, which was not only hidden from Greeks and Romans, but the text had become so confused at a very early period as to be, in some of its most ancient parts, no longer intelligible to the Egyptians themselves 4000 years ago. This fact will be found indisputably proved in the preface to our Fifth Volume. The whole book contains the treasures of ancient Egyptian wisdom, and the excesses and fancies of pantheistic

revelry and magic superstition. The preface will thus establish the indisputable preeminent antiquity of parts of the book; and we may assert that the extracts given in this Section, relating to the immortality of the soul, the last judgment, and eternal life, are fair specimens of its speculative, religious, and ethical importance and bearing. More will be said in the next volume as to what may be conjectured respecting its composition. Here we have only to touch upon a few decisive points immediately connected with the history of the human mind in its highest speculations.

The most ancient and primitive element of that book, and probably of all sacred texts, are evidently the hymns or invocations: their form bears a great analogy to Hebrew parallelism, in its simplest distich form. These invocations include utterances by the soul of the departed, who is introduced speaking; with touches even of an epico-dramatic form, the God or Gods being made to answer the spirit. This is clearly the most ancient part, next, perhaps, to those hymns of Isis of the antiquity of which Plato speaks so confidently. (Vol. I. p. 10.) There can be no doubt as to the character of the latest element: magical adjuration and formularies intended to act as charms upon the evil spirits to avert their hostility. Now those formularies, as well as the primitive hymns, bear the form of invocation and prayer placed in the mouth of the departed spirit. If these be not literary compositions written for private edification or entertainment (and who would assert such an absurdity?), they must have been originally the accompaniment of sacrificial acts. Our book is certainly not the ritual of the funeral, but its formularies belong to the periodical sacrifices offered to the dead. These commenced at the burial, and were continued on fixed days and anniversaries, and therefore intimately connected with the worship of departed ancestors. Such aspirations were originally, without doubt,

free improvisations, but being spoken by the head of the family or by the priest of the district, like the sacrificial hymns of the Rig-veda, they must in process of time have become formularies. In this sense, the name "Book of the Dead" can be fully justified. We might designate it also as Prayers and Pleadings of the departed Spirit. As to its composition, I reserve for the supplementary volume the arguments which seem to prove that it contains sets of formularies, many more than one or two, each constituting the sacred drama of the departed soul, from the time of its leaving the body till its justification and complete blessedness in the invisible world.

We select for the consideration of the reflecting reader, and serious thinker, some of the passages which express the religious and speculative feelings and tenets enunciated in this most ancient of extant sacred books.

1. God is the soul of the world, Osiris the lord, typified by the sun. He is often called Self-created: in other passages Nut (the female Nu, the hall, space, primordial waters, chaotic matter) is called his mother, who produced him out of her head (ch. xv. p. 47.); once Nu, as masculine, is called his father; in the popular genealogy, Seb, time, is the father. Creation is the shaping of the chaotic matter by intellectual will, by the fashioning thought of the Self-created One.

2. All "the Gods," the divinities worshipped, are engendered by the sun. A scholion to a primitive hymn contained in ch. xvii., which in the 11th Dynasty was already considered as part of the sacred text, has the following words:

"The sun is the creator of his body, the engenderer of the Gods who are successors of the sun."

The solar disk of the sun is the first and highest thing created; but the sun and the planets, and the

earth and the elements, are Gods, elementary powers divinely to be worshipped, but subordinate to Osiris, to the spirit, the mind of man.

“‘I am the one who knows,’ says the departed.” (ch. vii.; comp. ch. xv.)

3. The soul of man is, according to its divine essence, not subject to those personified, elementary, physical powers; therefore, when divested of the body, the soul is superior to them, and makes its way to its father, the self-created Soul of the Universe, through them and against them, as soon as it is justified.

4. This justification presupposes that the departed has, during life, abhorred crimes, lies, fraud: Osiris judges according to man’s conscience.

“The Osiris (departed) justified in peace is the sun himself.” (ch. xvi.)

“Thy father Tum (the sun) has bound thee with this good crown of justification, with that living diadem, beloved of the Gods, thou livest for ever.”

This is the justifying word of the Eternal to the departed spirit. (ch. xix.)

5. Man is by his soul the son of the only one God, and its destiny is to live and reign with God. Inexplicable are the substance of the soul, and its union with matter, forming an organic body. Here are some of the most striking shorter texts:

“The Semsem (literally, type or genesis, production of type) is the greatest of secrets.” (ch. xv.)

In the same chapter the departed says:

“I am one of the great types on earth, I rise as a living God. I set like the spirits in heaven.”

The spirit says in a hymn:

“I went in as a hawk, I came out as a phoenix.” (ch. xiii.)

6. There is not a shadow of the abominable materialistic doctrine of absorption of the soul into the universe: on the contrary, the soul living with God is in a state of consciousness of divine life; the soul continues to have an organ (body), as Osiris has his body in the sun :

"I know by my heart, I prevail by my heart, I prevail by my arm, I prevail by my feet, I do what my soul wishes, my soul is not separated from my body in the gate of the west." (ch. xxvi.)

7. The universe is the manifestation of eternal thought in time and space.

"The Age (Æon) is the day: Eternity is the night,"

says a scholion anterior to the 11th Dynasty. (ch. xvii.) Osiris is therefore called the Lord of the Age, Creator, Self-created. (ch. xv.) There was night before, but the Creator produced the light.

No one who has meditated on the mystery of creation and of the mind in particular, and who is not ignorant of the meditation and wisdom of the deepest intellects in past ages, will see in that faith respecting the soul either nonsense or impiety, but regard with reverence the aspirations of the highest instincts of our race and of deep individual ethic thought, akin to sacred truth, and to the spiritual philosophy and pious faith of later ages.

II. MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

The Wisdom of the Proverbs of Ptah-hept.

The sacred books were the work of sacerdotal industry and meditation. Gnostic wisdom, and in general ethic reflection, form the common, and in part royal, lay-literature of Egypt.

The rhapsodic religious aspirations of the "Book of the Dead" contain the possible germs of a speculative, as well as of an ethic, philosophy. The Egyptians

never arrived at a systematic dialectically conducted philosophy, the child of Hellenic genius; as to speculation, they never could rise even above the mythological form. Had there been any attempts at it, we may be sure that, if not the early Alexandrians of the school of Aristotle, certainly men like Porphyry and Jamblichus, and the whole tribe of Neo-Platonists in Alexandria, would have made the most of such lore of antiquity, and thrown them in the teeth of the Jews and Christians.

It is different as to the germ of ethic philosophy contained in the "Book of the Dead," even its most authentic ancient parts. It is indeed an easy, and an almost necessary step, to detach such moral ideas as are embodied in the ancient hymns and in the negative confession from their mythological envelope, into which they were put consciously, as a reflex of the human mind, that father of legends and myths. The *Mashal*, as the Hebrews call the gnomological form of aphoristic moral philosophy, or, as we designate it from the later translation of that Hebrew word, the Proverb, is the most congenial form of this early and useful meditation, which is so intimately connected with the religious consciousness, but made independent of its forms.

We owe to M. Chabas (Le plus ancien livre du monde, *Revue Archéolog.*, 15th April, 1858) the analytical translation of parts of such a collection of *Mashals*, contained in a papyrus of the Imperial Library at Paris, which was sold to M. Prisse when excavating in the tombs of the Nantef dynasty, and which most probably had been secreted by the Arabs in these very excavations. M. Prisse published this precious papyrus as early as 1847; Mr. Birch characterized the general contents with his usual conciseness and accuracy, and, after an unsuccessful attempt by the Rev. D. F. Heath (London, 12mo, 1858), M. Chabas has given us intelligible extracts, the translation of which is

partly supported in detail by a grammatical and lexical analysis. The subscription of the first treatise, of which only the last two pages are preserved, mentions AN and SNFRU as kings of Egypt during the earlier part of the author's life. Neither of these Pharaohs can belong to a later period than that of the 130 or 140 years preceding the 11th Dynasty, and comprising, in the Theban catalogue, eight or more kings of the house of Nantef. Were there no other reason, this would make it impossible to identify (as M. Chabas does) the house of Nantef with the 11th Dynasty, which lasted 43 years. This circumstance brings the dates of the first (mutilated) and of the third (complete) essays in the papyrus, written in the same beautiful hand, and exhibiting analogous contents, into the closest connexion; for here the author, Ptah-hept, a high functionary, calls himself the son of King Assa. This Pharaoh, however, must have been only his royal ancestor, and he his descendant in the third or fourth generation, as he writes at 110 years of age. Assa, a king very well known to us, certainly cannot be younger than the above period of 130 or 140 years, following upon the 6th, and preceding that 11th Dynasty, which 43 years later was succeeded by the illustrious house of Sesurtesen. Neither does he appear to belong to the 3rd Dynasty. There is nothing more surprising in this royal literary authorship than in that of the Proverbs of Solomon. The sacred books were written exclusively by priests, and in hieroglyphics; literary works, as early as the 3rd Dynasty of Manetho, were also composed by the nobility, to which the royal dynasties belonged. This branch, therefore, constituted an emancipation of the laity from the monopoly of the priests, a secularisation of wisdom and a great progress. Nor is the date, about 2200 B.C., or 4000 years ago, in the slightest degree improbable. Practical wisdom, in the form of gnomes or moral sentences, is the most natural and

easiest form of practical philosophy. Chabas translates the beginning, which runs very smoothly, thus :

"Beginning of the arrangements of good words, said by the noble chief, the beloved of God, the son of the king, the oldest of his race, the civil superintendent, Ptah-hotep, to teach the ignorant to understand the principle of the good speech, for the good of those who hear it, to shame those who would put it down.

"He said to his son : Having the courage which thy knowledge gives thee, converse with the ignorant as with the learned : shall the barriers of science not be taken away ? is any master quite perfect ?"

Then follow thirty-five precepts (p. iii.—xiv.). We select the following, from the text of M. Chabas :

Under precept viii. :

"If it may be humbling to thee to serve a wise man, thy conduct will be good with God, for he knows that thou art among the little ones : do not make thy heart proud against him."

Under precept xviii. :

"If thou art wise, take care of thy house, love thy wife heartily, nourish and cherish her, dress her person to adorn her limbs, let her be anointed, make her happy all the time of thy life."

The thirtieth precept contains, as it appears to me, a warning against incestuous intercourse, and hints at a law contained in the sacred books against such a crime, as lying under the curse of sterility.

The conclusion of the work (p. xv.—xix.) is addressed to the author's son. It begins thus :

"If thou listenest to what I have said, all thy designs will prosper : it will be thy good luck to keep its advice, and to be inspired thereto by the mouth of men. . . . Whoever will receive all these words will meet with no affliction on this earth, and will prosper in the good : it is the word of the wise, to instruct man, and whoever listeneth to it becomes prudent, docile, and good. . . . By knowledge man is insured of his happiness on earth. The learned man is nourished by what he knows : . . his heart and his tongue are at the right places : his lips are sweet, he will know to speak, his two eyes will see, his ears will hear. It will be the virtue of his son to practise justice faultlessly."

Under precept xxxvi. :

"Obedience (filial) is loved by God, disobedience is hated by him.

Man's heart rules the man in his obedience and in his disobedience, but man vivifies his heart by docility. To hear the word, to love to obey, that is to fulfill good precepts."

Under precept xxxviii.:

"The rebellious who is disobedient does absolutely nothing: he sees knowledge in ignorance, virtues in vices: every day he commits audaciously all manner of fraud, and thus he lives as if he were dead. . . . What the wise know to be death, that is his life every day: he goes on in his ways, loaded with a multitude of curses every day."

The father's address to his son forms the conclusion, and the book terminates with the following sentence:

"I have become one of the old men of the land, I have accomplished one hundred and ten years with the grace of the king and the approbation of the elders, fulfilling my duty towards the king in the place of favour.

"[Thus the writing is finished, from its beginning to its end, as it is found in the Book.]"

The concluding remark of the scribe proves this to be a complete copy from the original work. Hitherto it stands alone: the hieratic papyri of the 19th Dynasty already deciphered present isolated sentences, but mostly of the common-place sort of Chinese moralising. Goodwin gives (p. 272. sect. 25.) the sense of one out of the second treatise of Sallier, which rises somewhat higher:

"If the words are spoken in secret, the interior of a man is no secret to him who made it; if the words are spoken boastfully or openly, he is present with thee, though thou be alone."

III. HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

As regards the historical literature, chronology stands at the head. Lists of Kings, with the dates of years, months, and days, would seem to be as old as the empire itself. The method always was an imperfect one, but it was carried out with great accuracy. The confusion now existing has been in part the consequence of subsequent misunderstandings, after the loss of the his-

torical explanations which originally accompanied the lists of royal names.

As to historical matter, the sanguine expectations raised by the pretended account of the Sallier papyrus respecting the campaigns of Ramses have not been realised, and still less those based upon statements respecting the Old Empire and the Hyksos time. The real gain to history from the deciphered papyri may be comprised in the following sketch.

1. *The pretended Advice of Amenemha to his son Sesortesen.* (Sallier, 2.; Goodw. p. 269—272.)

The hero is a well-known king of the Old Empire, the founder of the 12th Dynasty; but his political testament, as Goodwin well calls it, is a mere fiction. His name figures as the name of Solomon does in the Book of Wisdom. We have in this composition the lucubration of a scribe of the end of the 19th Dynasty, of the name of Enna, who was an industrious author under Seti II., the last Pharaoh of the Theban Ramessides, and wrote this book in the first year of that reign. We borrow the following extracts from the essay upon hieratic papyri by the excellent classical and Egyptian scholar, C. W. Goodwin, which forms an epoch in Egyptological criticism. The title is:

“The beginning of the instructions given by his majesty King Rasotep-het, son of the Sun, Amenemha, the departed: speaking counsels of truth to his son, the Lord of all.” (Comp. Lepsius, Chronol. p. 49. n. Sesortesen I. is mentioned by name p. xii. l. 3.)

He saith:

“Rise up like a God, listen to the words that I speak unto thee. Thou art a King, thou art a ruler of provinces over the good things which I have multiplied. Let the hired foreign guards (*Smat*¹⁴⁷) be

¹⁴⁷ I venture to interpret this word *Smat* as hired troops of soldiers, be it as guards to the king (among them foreigners) or as police-troops for the great temples. This signification is applicable to all passages occurring in the Sallier and Anastasi papyri, and is

kept in order, for men are not contented when they are exalted. Thou art among them but one alone, in thy magnanimity, like a brother, not a master. In making thyself accessible to men, there is infinite safety."

It is a historical fact, and forms the basis of our restoration of the chronology of the Sesortôsidæ, that Amenemha was co-regent with Sesurtesen I. during 21 years of his reign (see our Synopsis in this Volume, Part VII.) It was in his sixth year (the first of Sesortôsis), according to our restoration of the Biblical account, that Joseph became Viceroy of Egypt. Now, it is still more striking that the author evidently alludes to Amenemha's having founded the dynasty in consequence of a successful struggle in a civil war. The king, as Goodwin relates (p. 271.), "seems to have been surprised in his bed by insurgents, but showed great personal valour, and himself captured a rebel with arms in his hand." He became by his victories master of the whole of Egypt:

"I wrote orders to Abu (Elephantina), commands to Athu."

Athu means the marshes (Lower Egypt), according to Goodwin's well-supported interpretation. He goes on to say that Amenemha tells how he effected, as king of the whole of Egypt, "great improvements in agriculture, so that corn and grain were produced in abundance, by the help of the Nile as a fertilising agent, *and that there was neither hunger nor thirst in his days.*" He then is made to speak of the splendid palace he built, and in which there was a secret treasury:

"I built a house adorned with gold, its roof and walls with lapis lazuli (khesbet): the floors were laid with stone and metal, the hinges were of bronze [?]: a structure made for eternity; everlasting are its

borne out in particular by Anast. 5. p. 119., as the translation of Mr. Goodwin shows (p. 263. ; comp. p. 255, 256.): but *s-mat* can be legitimately explained as causative of *mat*, strong (triliteralised in Hebr. *'hamaz*), whence *mata*, soldier.

exaltations. I knew every part of it. There were many devices of passages: I knew how to tell, how to find out its treasures, so that no man might know it except thee, Sesortesen, that thy feet go, thou thyself with thy own eyes behold it."

These words do not necessarily allude to the Labyrinth in the Fayoom, erected (as Manetho says, and as the stones themselves proclaim) under Amenemha III., a fact which a well-informed scribe of the Ramesside time could neither ignore nor venture to falsify in his book. For the same reason I do not doubt the authenticity of the statement that Sesortesen I. was the son of Amenemha I., as assumed in my restoration of the dynasty, but for which we have as yet no monumental proof. Lastly, I am inclined to believe that there is a historical basis for the mention of the foreign body-guards in the service of Amenemha; for it is evident that about one hundred years later an Amalekite or Philistine soldiery set up first a regent (Shallit, Salatis), and then a dynasty, of those tribes. This does not preclude the supposition that in this admonition the scribe had in view also his own time; for it is expressly stated in other papyri of that epoch, that the *smat*, or foreign mercenaries, were found at Elephantina on the Ethiopian frontier, and we can scarcely doubt that such mercenary troops helped Menephthah and his son Seti II. to reconquer Egypt. This fact transpires from several passages of the hieratic papyri of that date. (Goodw. p. 256—263.)

2. *The supposed Negotiation between Sekennen-ra (Theban King of 17th Dyn.) and the Shepherd King Apepi, residing at Uar (Avaris).* (Pap. Sallier, 1.; Goodw. p. 243—244.)

This fragment, to which we have alluded in Vol. III., excited at first great expectations. After having been analyzed by M. de Rougé in his usual accomplished manner, and a few lines of it translated by Brugsch (1855), Goodwin has given a complete version of the

passages still legible. We adopt his translation, with one slight alteration of a passage which he himself thinks doubtful:

"It came to pass, when the land of Egypt was held by the invaders (revoltors, enemies), there was no lord king (i.e. of the whole of Egypt); in the day, namely, when King Ra-skenen (Sekennenra) was ruler (Heka, Hyk) of the land of the South (i.e. the Thebaid), the invaders holding the land of the foreigner.¹⁴⁸ The chief Apepi was in the *palace of Uar (Avaris)*. The whole land paid homage to him, with their manufactures in abundance, as well as with all the precious things of the inhabitants of the country of the North. Now King Apepi set up Sutekh for his lord; he worshipped no other God in the whole land . . . built him a temple of durable workmanship. It came to pass that while he rose up (to celebrate) a day of dedicating . . . a temple to Sutekh, the prince (of the South) prepared to build a temple to the Sun over against it (i.e. in rivalry with it?). Then it came to pass that King Apepi desired to . . . King Ra-skenen the prince of the South. It came to pass a long time after this . . .

[4 lines obliterated.]

. with him in case of his not consenting (to worship) all the Gods which are in the whole land, (and to honour) Amen-Ra, king of the Gods. It came to pass, many days after these things, that King Apepi sent a message to the prince of the South. The messenger (being gone?), he called his wise men together to inform them. Then the messenger of King Apepi (journeyed) to the chief of the South. (When he was arrived) he stood in the presence of the chief of the South, who said to him this saying, viz. to the messenger of King Apepi, 'What message dost thou bring to the South country? For what cause hast thou set out on this expedition?' Then the

¹⁴⁸ Mr. Goodwin is certainly right in rejecting the translation of Brugsch: the city of the sun, Heliopolis, is called AN, never Ad-mu: nor is Avaris situated in the district of that town. But as to his own translation, "the district of the Aamû," the name is of a too generic character, and never applied to the Shemites: nor is it probable that the Egyptians would have called Lower Egypt, or a part of it, "the district of the Aamû." Moreover, as Mr. Goodwin himself observes, the usual determinatives of those nations are wanting here. Why therefore should not *Aa-mû* be what it literally signifies: *the abode of the foreigner*? Both words occur, even on very old monuments, particularly *mû*, which is found as early as in the Old Empire.

messenger answered him, 'King Apepi sends to thee, saying, he is about to go to the fountain of the cattle, which is in the region of the South, seeing that has commissioned me to search day and night' The chief of the South replied to him, that he would do nothing hostile to him. The fact was, he did not know how to send back (refuse?) the messenger of King Apepi. (Then the prince of the South) said to him, Behold, thy lord promised to

[4 lines obliterated.]

. . . Then the chief of the South called together the princes and great men, likewise all the officers and heads of and he told them all the history of the words of the message sent to him by King Apepi, before them (or according to order). Then they cried with one voice, in anger, they did not wish to return a good answer, but a hostile one. King Apepi sent to"

There can be no doubt that the abrupt termination in the middle of a sentence is Pentaûr's doing. The same scribe who composed the preceding essay relative to the history of Ramesses II. and written in the same reign, did not choose to spend more time and papyrus on this extract. Breaking off in the middle of a sentence, he begins a new essay, without leaving even an intermediate space. The copyist would not have ventured to take such a liberty. This proceeding of Pentaûr's would justify us in conjecturing that the original manuscript was contemporary, but internal criticism does not favour such a supposition. The style bears no resemblance to that of the Instructions of King Amenemha; it is simple and easy like the tale of the Two Brothers, whereas the other fragment is written in a poetical style, more difficult to interpret and translate. The account itself exhibits no signs of a legendary character as regards the events narrated, but still less that of a contemporaneous relation. The names of the kings are not at all accurately given, which however was particularly indispensable in the case of the Shepherd king; for there was already an Apepi in the 1st Dynasty, and consequently the later kings of that name must have had some

special designation which formed the throne-name. Besides the account of such very simple facts as the erection of a temple to Sutekh, and the demand of a passage for his herds to the royal domains in the Thebaid, is much too florid and rhetorical for a strictly historical composition. We, therefore, come to the conclusion that it is a literary composition nearer the age of Menephthah than that of Sekennenra, whose reign (the last of the 17th Dynasty, immediately before Amos) coincides with the middle of the 17th century B.C., an interval of not quite 300 years between the event and the date of the scribe who copied the account. This result is confirmed by the use of the name of Sutekh for Set (or Sûth), which does not occur in the Old Empire, but is the regular form in the monuments of the campaigns of Ramesses II.

Under these circumstances we seem to be justified in taking as perfectly historical the principal fact, the events which occasioned the breaking out of the national warfare under Sekennenra, which led to the independence of the Thebaid, and under Amos to the taking of Memphis, and finally under Tuthmôsis III. to the confinement of the Hyksos army within the boundaries of Avaris. We have thus in this precious fragment a striking general evidence of the truth of our historical characteristics of that period. The Hyksos were the kings of Semitic tribes, worshipping the most ancient Semitic divinity Seth, identical with the Egyptian God Set, Sûth (whence Sôthîs), the equivalent of Osiris in Lower Egypt. They resided in Avaris, UAR, which was either Herakleopolis or Tanis (Zoan of the Palestinians) ; so that our account contrasts the abode of the foreigner (the Lower Country), the Delta, with the land of the South (the Upper Country), where the native princes governed. The native princes resided in the South, nominally perhaps acknowledging the supremacy of the conquerors. Finally, the contest was

both a political and a religious one, and no mention is made of the Israelite settlers in Goshen, whom not only Josephus out of national vanity, but recent historians and critics from ignorance of Egyptian antiquity, have identified with the Hyksos shepherds, in open contradiction to the Biblical account.

3. *An Episode in the Campaign of Ramesses II. on the Orontes, near Katesh (Lake Kadis). Composition of Pentaûr the scribe, in the year of Seti II.* (Sallier, 3.; Goodw. p. 239—245.)

This rhetorical or poetical composition celebrates a military adventure in which the great conqueror Ramesses II. showed his personal courage and intrepidity in the war against the Hittites (Kheta). The event is recorded on some sculptures of the Ramesseum still existing at Karnak, and similar sculptures at Ibsambul, both accompanied by inscriptions almost identical with some parts of our account. According to them the event belongs to the fifth year of that reign. The essay is supposed to be only four years later. The subscription, where the ninth year is mentioned (the context, however, is wanting), justifies these assumptions. We shall show in our criticism of the next composition, that Pentaûr wrote towards the end of the reign of Seti II. (B.C. 1300). Now he could not have composed an essay in the ninth year of Ramesses II., who reigned sixty-six years from 1390, and was succeeded by Menephthah, who reigned twenty (B.C. 1306). M. de Rouge is the decipherer, we may say the prophet, of this interesting document.

The scene lies on the river Aranta or Anrata, in which it is difficult not to recognise the Orontes: besides, the city mentioned as situated on the western bank of that river is called Katesh (as we read with Birch and Goodwin); a lake formed in the course of the Upper Orontes, south of Hamath, is called Kades at the present day. This interpretation is new, but it has a solid philolo-

gical basis. The power of the Hittites at that period need not excite our surprise: and every other attempt at interpretation has failed.

The king (so says the poem) found himself in his chariot alone, cut off from his army, and surrounded by 2500 hostile horsemen, through whom he had to cut his way. At this critical moment he is made to address a fervent prayer to the God of Thebes, Ammon, imploring his help as the only means of salvation. We give this characteristic passage after De Rougé and Goodwin:

"My archers and my horsemen forsook me, not one of them remained to fight with me. Then said his majesty, 'Where art thou now, my father Amen (Ammon). Behold, does a father forget his son? But do I confide in my own strength? Walking or standing, is not my face towards thee? Do I not inquire the counsels of thy mouth? Do I not seek for thy mighty counsels, O thou great Lord of Egypt, at whose approach the oppressors of the land are scattered? What now is the hope of these Aamu? Amen shall abase those who know not God. Have I not made for thee many and great buildings of stone? Have I not filled thy temple with my spoils, building for thee a temple to last myriads of years? . . . The whole earth unites to bring thee offerings . . . (to enrich) thy domain. I have sacrificed to thee thirty thousand bulls, with all kinds of sweet-scented herbs. Have I not put behind me those who do not thy will? . . . I have built thee a house of great stones, erecting for thee eternal groves; I have brought for thee obelisks from Abu (Elephantine); I have caused the everlasting stones to be fetched, launching for thee boats upon the sea, importing for thee the manufactures of the lands. When was it ever before said that such a thing was done? Confounded is every one who resists thy designs; blessed is every one who obeys thee, O Amen! That which thou doest is dear to my heart (?). I cry to thee, my father Amen. I am in the midst of many unknown people gathered together from all lands. But I am alone by myself; there is none other with me. My bowmen and my horsemen have forsaken me; they were afraid; not one of them listened when I cried to them. Amen is more helpful to me than myriads of bowmen, than millions of horsemen, than tens of thousands of chosen youths, though they all be gathered together in one place. The arts of men prevail not, Amen is more powerful than they; they follow not the commands of thy mouth, O Sun! Have I not sought out thy commands? Have I not invoked thee from the ends of the earth?'"

Ammon hears his prayers; the enemy tries in vain to rally his troops:

“I ran towards them, like the God Mentu, I fleshed my hand upon them in the twinkling of the eye: I smote them, I slew them, so that one of them cried to another, saying, ‘It is not a man.’ Mighty is he who was among them, *Sutekh*, the most glorious, *Baal* was in my limbs. Why was every enemy weak? The hand of the God was in all my limbs.”

Here, then, *Sutekh*, the king (*Baal*), the divinity worshipped by the enemy, was fighting for the Pharaoh.

The king, after the victory is gained, is joined by his army. He reproaches them with having forsaken him (although it was evidently his own fault), but rewards and honours his two good horses (whose names are given) and his armour-bearer:

“‘My two horses were obedient to the guidance of my hand, when I was alone by myself in the midst of the enemy. Therefore I grant to them to eat their corn in the presence of Ra continually, when I am in the gate of the palace, on account of their having been found in the midst of the enemy: and as for the armour-bearer who remained with me, I bestow upon him my arms, together with the things which were upon me, the habiliments of war.’ Behold his Majesty wore them in his great victory, overthrowing myriads assembled together with his conquering sword.”

The enemy sues for peace, which is concluded with all solemnity, and *Ramesses* returns to Egypt.

We have here an instance how, under the hands of slavish scribes, an event is swelled into a legendary tale within less than a century; and we see likewise that part of it is almost taken literally from the inscriptions placed on public monuments erected by the king who is the hero of the tale, and exhibiting the scene of the king’s prowess on that occasion. The difference is that the inscription is drawn out into a legendary tale. The king had allowed himself and a small body of men to be cut off from the bulk of his

army, and placing himself at the head of the small but brave troop, he forced his way through the enemy.

4. *The Rejoicing when Menephthah, the son of Ramesses II., returned. Composition of Pentaûr, under Menephthah and Seti IV.* (Sallier, 1.; comp. with Anast. 3. 5.: Goodw. p. 252—256.)

It is important not only for the right appreciation of this and similar compositions, fragmentary documents to which the Rev. F. D. Heath has unfortunately given the adventurous title of “Exodus Papyri,” but also for the contemporaneous history of Egypt and of the Israelites, to decide whether Pentaûr wrote indeed, as Mr. Goodwin also thinks, early in the reign of Ramesses II., and the latter part of that of Seti II. The length assigned to these reigns by Manetho (66+20) is too strongly confirmed, the former by the monuments, the latter by the historical fact of his thirteen years’ exile in Ethiopia with a crown-prince five years old, and his victorious return to Egypt when that prince was eighteen years of age, to be rendered doubtful by a mutilated text alluded to above, and exhibiting the name of the writer and the ninth year of Ramesses II. (Goodw. p. 239.; comp. with p. 246. and 248.) Now, this great conqueror is nowhere mentioned in Pentaûr’s compositions as the reigning monarch; the royal palace being repeatedly called in them “the house of Ramesses II. in Thebes,” the Ramesseum, does not necessarily imply that he was the reigning monarch. The superscription of the first composition of the Papyrus Sallier, 1. (Goodw. p. 246.), is even decidedly against such an interpretation. It is complete, perfectly intelligible, and says:

“The beginning of the instructions of letters, made by the scribe Pentaûr in the tenth year, in the month of Choiak, the great majesty of the king being in the house of Ramesses II.”

His reigning majesty here is evidently distinguished

from that Pharaoh who built the Ramesseum, Rameses II. He must therefore have been either Menephthah the son, or Seti II. the grandson, of the great conqueror. There is every probability of his having been Seti II.: he knew the prince (it is said in that letter, p. 247.) when he was born; he saw him grow, and become strong. This supposes the king to be indeed grown up, but rather a young man. Now, in our essay (Letter ix. p. 252.), the *happy return* of the reigning king is alluded to. The passage relating to it is the following:

“Rejoice ye in all the land at the good news, at the *return* of the lord, the king of all lands. *He is pleased to come to his house*, the king, lord of myriads of years, greatest of rulers, even as Horus. Ba-en-ra Meri-amen, making Egypt to rejoice; the son of Ra, prosperity to the royal lord, Menephthah, rejoicing in truth, executing all justice. May ye behold truth dispelling falsehood! when he strikes down their faces, all the crocodiles turn back. The river rises, the Nile swells abundantly, to the beginning of the equinox from the hour of the moon’s rising. The Gods are pleased, serene and joyous. . . . Do thou consider this.”

Now, is there any more natural interpretation of this than that which we propose, guided by Manetho’s historical account of Menephthah’s fate? He returns victorious; as to the past, it is of course veiled in silence. The expressions are pompous, but well chosen, in this composition. The completeness of the inundation is very appropriately expressed by stating that it extended to the equinox (of autumn) from the hour of the moon’s rising (of *the* moon, the moon of the solstice). This gives us clearly the normal period of 90 days for the swelling of the Nile.

Taking, then, this piece of information as infallible as to the persons of the reigning monarchs, we may venture to assert that it proves *Seti II. to have been associated* by his father Menephthah as *co-regent* about his 14th year. If he ascended the throne

as sole Pharaoh after Menephthah's death, which must have taken place in 1305, Seti was 20 or 21 years old, and the tenth year of his reign must have dated from his eleventh or (what is more likely) from his twelfth year, the epoch of puberty in Egypt. The tenth year of Menephthah is out of the question ; for as his reign comprised the 13 years of exile, and he reigned some years before and after, the tenth necessarily fell within that period of misfortune. We may also observe that the idea of the co-regency of Menephthah and Ramesses II., as proposed by Miss Corbaux and adopted by Mr. Heath, has no support, as far as I can see, in these papyri ; it likewise runs counter to the evidence of Manetho, and there is no trace of it in the almost innumerable monuments of the reign of the latter.

IV. HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS ON PUBLIC MONUMENTS.

1. *State Monuments of historical Import.*

We have already adverted to the pompous and poetical character of the monumental inscriptions of the New Empire. We possess none of the Old before the 12th Dynasty, and none at all of the Middle Empire. What we do know does not give a favourable impression as to their importance or accuracy, with the exception of that of the statistical tablet of Tuthmosis the Third, the translation and explanation of which by Mr. Birch led to all the successful efforts since made in this direction. As the entire text of this document (now in the Louvre) will be given in the supplementary volume, it is sufficient here to advert to the fact that tributes paid in distant countries were evidently very often only contributions exacted and agreed upon in consequence of successful raids, and only paid as long as they were enforced by the invading army. The accurate portions of the historical reports of the Egyptians are their statistics and chronology, the outer framework of substantial

history; and the examination of the rest confirms the judgment we have ventured to express in former years, that the muse of ancient history speaks only Hebrew and Greek. It was the more brilliant sister of the two which inspired the mind of Manetho. This historian of the early Ptolemaic period, however, had undoubtedly before him veritable historical accounts of the New Empire and even of the Old, in a fragmentary state. Unfortunately as yet none of these have been discovered, which makes it the more to be desired that hieratic papyri be searched after, published, deciphered, and explained.

2. *Sacerdotal Accounts of historical Import. The Mission of the God Khunsu (Khôns) from Thebes to Assyria (Nineveh) under Ramesses XII., 20th Dyn.*

The great temples had not only their own militia (100 men are mentioned as the amount of the *smat* of one temple), but also their own annals and historical monuments. By far the most important and illustrious of these is the tablet or stele in the Louvre, which mentions the expedition of a Theban mission to conduct the Theban idol of the oracle of Khunsu (Herakles) in the sanctuary of the city of Ammon, to the land of Bakhtan. It was copied by Champollion, and published by Prisse, who brought the monument to France, and deposited it in the Imperial Library. Its contents were deciphered, translated, and commented on in 1852, by Mr. Birch, in the 24th volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature." This translation, made from a not very perfect copy, was revised in 1856 and 1857 from the original by De Rouge, independently of Mr. Birch. He arrived substantially at the same result, thanks to the soundness of the common foundation and method. This text composed with the splendid Egyptian types of the imperial press was very elegantly edited, with an interlinear transcription and version,

a learned and ingenious commentary and a historical essay by the same eminent French Egyptologist. Mr. Goodwin has observed that some such event, derived from Assyrian sources, appears to be mentioned in the Saturnalia of Macrobius; and we hope to be able to prove that this refers to the record on our stele, and that consequently it is perfectly historical as to the substantial truth of the event. We have indeed the contemporary account of a Theban mission to Asia, towards the end of the 20th Dynasty, in the latter part of the reign of Ramesses XII., and therefore between the years 1112 and 1120 B.C., or from 12 to 18 years before the extinction of that royal house. The average length of the reign of these Ramessides being from 25 to 27 years, and the reign of Ramesses XII. having been at least 34 years (the 33rd year being mentioned on the stele), that of his successor, the last, can scarcely have been of long duration. The date of the Egyptian mission therefore, according to our tables, was that of Eli, the high priest, an epoch of Philistine supremacy in Southern Palestine.

The stele is not dated, but the *Preamble* (the first three of the twenty-nine lines of the inscription, or, according to M. de Rougé's very appropriate division of the text into 39 verses according to the sentences of which it consists, verses 1—6.) contains the titles and official praises of Ramesses XII., in a style only used of the reigning monarch. It is, therefore, strictly contemporary. We give the text complete, following M. de Rougé's translation, with some modifications, notice of which will be found in the notes:

"7) When his majesty was in Mesopotamia¹⁴⁹, busy with receiving the tributes of the year, the princes of the whole land came to prostrate

¹⁴⁹ *Nahar*, shorter form for Mesopotamia, called Naharina, in strict conformity with the Aramaic form Naharain.

themselves before him, and implore his favour. 8) They began to present their produce, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, copper. They brought on their backs the wood of the holy country¹⁵⁰, one following the other. 9) When the prince of *Bakhten*¹⁵¹ had presented his presents he placed his eldest daughter at the head of those who were to address the king to implore his grace. 10) This lady was so beautiful, that she pleased the king above all other things: he gave her immediately the title *Nefru-ra* (Beauty of the Sun) as of the first royal consort, and when he came to Egypt, he had solemnised for her all the rites of a royal spouse.

"11) It happened in the year 15, the 22nd day of the month of Epiphi, when his majesty was in the Thebaid, commanding the cities¹⁵², chanting hymns to his father Amon-Ra, the lord of the thrones of the earth, in his festival of Thebes of the South, the seat of his heart, it happened for the first time that people came to tell the king: 'The ambassador of the prince of Bakhten has come with many presents for the royal spouse.' 12) Brought into the king's presence with his offerings, he said, addressing his majesty, 'Glory be to thee, sun of all nations! grant us life in thy presence.' 13) Having made his adorations to the king, he spoke again to the king, saying: 'I come to thee, O king, my sovereign lord, on behalf of Bent-resht¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ *Ta-nuter*, the divine (sacred) land.

¹⁵¹ *Bakhten*. The explanation Basan, Bashan, preferred by Birch, is incompatible with a journey of 20 months to go and 20 to return from Thebes to Edrëi or Astaroth; the more so if it is considered that the distance from Thebes to Memphis, the better half of the journey, was easily and rapidly made by the Nile. Besides, the want of the very strong sonant KH in the middle is against this explanation. De Rougé prefers Baghistan (Bisutun), which had also been mentioned conjecturally by Birch: but Baghistan is in Media, an Arian country, and we must look for an Aramaic one, as the name of the princess-royal shows. We shall prove below that Bakhten is literally the very name of the district of Assyria in which Nineveh is situated.

¹⁵² *Commanding the cities*. I prefer the construction proposed by Birch to the translation of this passage by M. de Rougé: "Thmes, reine des temples, occupée à chanter les louanges de son père A." Amon-Ra is the father of the king, but the governor (hek) of the Thebaid.

¹⁵³ *Bent-resht*. This is the real name, and so it is spelled in a succeeding passage. If we read all the characters, we have *Bent-resht*, the name with an Egyptian termination. Birch recognised the Semitic character, but the translation proposed by him is rather

(the chief's daughter), the younger sister of the royal spouse Nefru-ra. An evil has invaded her limbs: may your majesty despatch a man knowing the sciences of the books to see her.' 14) Then the king said: 'I send for the scribes of the house of life, those who know the secrets of the interior (state of man).' 15) They were immediately fetched to them, and the king said: 'I have sent for you, that you may hear the message I have received: for look, I send for one out of your body who has a searching mind and skillful hands.' 16) When the royal scribe (Basilicogrammateus) Tot-em-nibi appeared before the king, his majesty commanded him to set out for Bakhten with the ambassador of the prince. 17) When the man who knew the science of the books arrived at Bakhten, he found Bent-resch-ti possessed by a spirit: but he acknowledged himself [too weak] to struggle with him.

"18) The prince of Bakhten sent a second time to the king, and said: 'O great king, my lord, may your majesty order that [the God] may be sent [to conquer that spirit].' 19) [This message] reached the king in the 26th year, on the first day of the month of Pakhons, during the festival of Ammon: his majesty was then in the Thebaid. 20) Then the king went again to the presence of Khunsu in the Thebaid, the good perfected God, and said: 'O good Lord, I appear again in thy presence on behalf of the daughter of the prince of Bakhten.' 21) Then Khunsu, the God of perfect goodness, in the Thebaid, was conducted to Khunsu the worker of advice¹⁵⁴, the Great God who drives away the enemies. 22) His majesty spoke thus before Khunsu in the Thebaid, the good God perfected: 'Good Lord, if thou wouldst turn thy face to Khunsu, the worker of advice, the Great God who drives away the enemies, in order that thou makest him go to Bakhten, (that would be) having great mercy.'¹⁵⁵ 23) Fur-

far-fetched, and not exactly Aramaic: daughter of man (bent-al-ish). De Rougé thinks of a name formed like Reshid, in which, however, the *id* at the end is radical, not termination. It seems most natural to think of the Aramaic word *res*, *resch*, for Hebr. *rash*, head, chief. That *ben*, *bent*, for Hebr. *ben*, *bat*, son, daughter, is old Aramaic (instead of the modern form *bar*, son), is proved by the formation of the plural in modern Syriac and Chaldee. The orthography of this name in a later passage of our inscription, *Bent-enti-Reshit* (Bent of Joy), is an attempt to entirely Egyptianise the Aramaic name at the end.

¹⁵⁴ *The worker of advice*, or counsels. I take this in the sense, both of giving oracular advice, and of working miraculous cures.

¹⁵⁵ *Greatest mercy*. I take these two words as forming the apodosis, depending upon the *au-ar-tak* (if thou wouldst turn) at

ther his majesty said: 'Give to him thy inward power, I then will send his divinity to Bakhten that he may heal the daughter of the chief of Bakhten.' 24) By a very great favour, Khunsu of the Thebaid, the God of perfect goodness, gave four times inward power¹⁵⁶ to Khunsu who operates counsels in the Thebaid. 25) The king ordered that Khunsu, the adviser of the Thebaid, should be carried in his great shrine, with five small barks and a car, and a numerous escort on horseback at his right and left.

"26) This God arrived at Bakhten in the space of one year and five months.¹⁵⁷ 27) Lo, there came the chief of Bakhten with his soldiers and their captains to meet Khunsu, the God operating advice: he fell down upon his body, and said to him: 'Thou comest to us, to dwell with us, by order of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, thou *Seser-Ra Sotep-en-Ra*.'¹⁵⁸ 28) Then this God came to the place where *Bentresh* was: he gave an inward power to the chief's daughter, and she was healed instantly. 29) And that spirit who was in her said before the God Khunsu, the worker of advice in the Thebaid: 'Be welcome¹⁵⁹, thou Great God who drivest away the enemies, thine is the lady of Bakhten, thy slaves are its people, I am thy slave. 30) I shall return to the place from which I came, in order to satisfy thy heart as to the purport of thy journey: may thy divinity order that a festival day be celebrated in my honour by the chief of Bakhten.' 31) Upon which the God deigned to say to his priest: 'The chief of Bakhten must bring a rich offering to this spirit.' 32) While this conversation of Khunsu, the worker of advice in the Thebaid, with the spirit was going on, the chief of Bakhten was standing by with his troops, and was in very great fear. 33) He ordered a great offering to be laid before Khunsu, the worker of advice in the Thebaid, and before the spirit of the chief of Bakhten, and celebrated a festival day to them: and the spirit went away peaceably whither he liked, according to the order of Khunsu, the worker of advice in the Thebaid.

the beginning of the sentence, where the illustrious French Egyptologist has so satisfactorily explained the force of *ar* placed before the radical. He translates the concluding words "par une grâce insigne."

¹⁵⁶ *Four times.* M. de Rougé explains this most plausibly by a machinery which made the great temple-statue touch four times the oracular idol, a sort of transmission of power by imposition of hands.

¹⁵⁷ *One year and five months.* (See above).

¹⁵⁸ *Seser-Ra, Sotep-en-Ra.* The royal names of Ramses XII. His being called by these names will prove of great importance for the historical solution.

¹⁵⁹ *Be welcome:* literally, thou who comest in peace.

"34) The chief was delighted, and so were all people of Bakhten. And he thought in his heart and said (to himself): 'This God ought to be kept in Bakhten, I shall not let him go away to Egypt. 35) And when the God had remained in Bakhten three years and nine months, the chief, resting upon his bed, thought he saw him leave his shrine, having the shape of a golden hawk; and that he lifted himself up to the sky, in the direction to Egypt. 36) When the prince awoke, he was frightened, and said to the priest of Khunsu, the worker of advice in the Thebaid: 'This God is leaving us, and returns to Egypt: direct his car towards Egypt.' 37) When the chief of Bakhten took leave of the God, he gave him rich presents of all sorts of precious things, and a numerous escort of soldiers and horsemen. 38) When they had arrived prosperously at Thebes, Khunsu, the worker of advice in the Thebaid, entered the temple of Khunsu of peaceful goodness, and gave to him the presents of all sorts of precious things which the chief of Bakhten had given him: he kept nothing for his own temple. 39) Khunsu, the worker of advice in the Thebaid, returned prosperously to his temple in the 33rd year of the king of the two countries *Seser-n-ra*, *Sotep-en-ra*. This is what has done the king, living, like the sun, for ever."

Recapitulating the dates mentioned in this sacerdotal account of the oldest mission on record, we find:

First embassy arrives in Egypt, yr. xv, 22 Payni	} 11 years' illness.
Second " " yr. xxvi, 1 Pakhons	
Journey to Bakhten, 1 year 5 months.	

Consequently arrival - yr. xxviii, about 1 Paophi.
 Stay in Bakhten, 3 years 9 months.

Consequently return - yr. xxxi, about 1 Epiphi.
 Arrival at Thebes stated - yr. xxxiii, 19 Mekhir.

(Which gives for the return 1 year 7 months 19 days,
 2½ months more than the journey to Bakhten.)

There is nothing in the account of the miracle which would authorise us to doubt the historical character of this sacerdotal mission, and the contemporaneous erection of the sacerdotal monument in memory of it. Most probably the cure operated by the oracular idol was a magnetic one, and the evil itself a nervous paralysis with paroxysms.

Assuming, then, the historical truth of the fact, the event will have left a deep impression in the country where the miraculous cure took place; and indeed Macrobius gives from Syrian sources (Saturn. i. 23.) the following account of it:

"The Assyrians celebrate with great ceremony, in the city of Heliopolis, the worship of the sun, under the name of Jove. The image of the God was brought from a city of Egypt, also called Heliopolis, in the reign of *Senemures*, or *Senepos*. It was first brought to Assyria by Opias, the ambassador of the Assyrian king *Deleboris*, and by Egyptian priests, the chief of whom was named *Partemetis*. After having been kept for some time among the Assyrians, it was conveyed to Heliopolis."

Mr. Goodwin has contented himself with calling the attention of the learned to this passage, as one which might hereafter help to furnish a point of historical contact. The reasons which make me think the accounts identical are the following:

1. The chief idol of the God of the Sun, worshipped at Heliopolis in Syria (Baalbek), had come to that temple from Assyria, the details about the manner in which it was brought to Assyria from Egypt are positive, and the whole is fully and necessarily historical. The name of Bent-resh is Assyrian, as we have shown. Now Assyria is identical, in such a case, with Nineveh, the city of Assur, Nineveh the ancient, the creation of Semiramis, the residence of the Ninyads. If, therefore, the account refers to the event recorded on our stele, the Asiatic name for the district or province in which the metropolis was situated must have been Bakhten. But so indeed it is. It is even now called *Bahdinan*, a word formed like Khusistan, Kurdistan, meaning *the land of Bahdin*; or, for the better transcription of the Arabic aspirate, *Bakhdin*. As the Egyptians have no D in their alphabet, they could not render the native name with greater accuracy.

2. An ambassador was sent to fetch it, named Opias; and Egyptian priests brought it, the chief of whom was called Partemetis. The stele does not give the names, but the account itself is identical.

3. That it came from the Egyptian Heliopolis (On, An) is, literally speaking, not accurate. It is very natural that the Syrian Heliopolitans should make out that such was the case, and indeed Thebes is the city of Amun-Ra, which means Ammon the Sun.

4. The king's name is stated to have been *Senemures*, or *Senepos*. We know from the very text of our monument by what distinguishing names Ramses XII. was designated. Now when we compare

SESER-RA, Greek formation, *Sesorrês*, *Sesorphrês*, and

SETEP-RA, „ „ *Seturês*, *Setuphrês*, with those names in Macrobius, the resemblance is certainly striking, without making allowance for anything like those great corruptions which we find, for instance, in Pliny's manuscripts, as to names of Egyptian kings.

5. The stele states that Khunsu returned, and this undoubtedly is the historical truth; but that same monument does not conceal the great desire of the king to keep back the idol. Can it have been so difficult for him to satisfy this royal wish during a stay of the guardians of the shrine for almost four years, whether without, or (what is more likely) with, the knowledge of one of them?

The distance is sufficiently great to account for a caravan journey of about a year, from Memphis to Nineveh. It may be said that it is not certain, Nineveh not being named, whether Bent-resh was the princess-royal, the daughter of the Great King, and not rather the daughter of one of the great Assyrian chieftains holding some authority in that province. The Egyptian account, indeed, does not enable us to answer

this question with positive certainty; but the probabilities undoubtedly are in favour of the former. Besides, the annals of the sanctuary of Heliopolis maintained that it was the Assyrian king himself who sent the messenger, and we can easily understand that the mention of the Great King himself, with all his titles, did not well agree with the pretension that the Pharaoh had gone there to receive in person the tribute due to him, and that among others, "the chief of Bakhten" was too happy to offer his daughter for the acceptance of the son of Amun-Ra. The whole story about the tribute is ridiculously lame: no mention is made of an army which accompanied or preceded him. He may well have received, on the occasion of his journey (probably one of homage), some presents in return for those he himself had offered; but it is too ridiculous to assume that Mesopotamia (the centre of Assyrian power) had been tributary to Egypt at a time when the Ninyad dynasty was on the throne, and no rebellion or defection had taken place. Even about 370 years after the time of Ramses XII. we find that the predecessor of the last Ninyad, if not the very last himself (Phalukas or Phul), made Samaria tributary. Egypt had been made so by Semiramis: the absolute absence of all trophies after 1280 confirms the statement in the Assyrian annals and the Greek accounts. The Pharaoh having subsequently become the ally of Assyria could not possibly have any revenue to draw from the centre of the ruling empire of Asia, unless it were the income from farms and other domains with which he or his predecessors might have been presented as the dowry of a royal princess, or as a private heir-loom saved from better times.

Thus the Syrian account, identified with the Egyptian, helps us to appreciate and explain the historical residue of the boastful sacerdotal tale. Mr. Goodwin

recommends king *Deleboris* to the particular attention of the investigators of Assyrian antiquities; but perhaps he may not be quite unknown even now. A tolerably clear inscription of Sennakherib's mentions a king whose name has been rather guessed than read Tiglath-pileser. The first part of it (probably formed from Dekhel, Tigris, see Gen. ii. 14.) we have in its Egyptian form *Takelot*, and it is independent of the second, which ought to be identical with the second element in Nabopolassar. This king, then, is clearly said by his great successor to have concluded a peace with the king of Babylon, 418 years before his, Sennakherib's, accession. Now as this great Assyrian conqueror, the son of Sargina, ascended the throne, according to our tables, in 703, we must place the political act of that ancestor of his in the year 1122 B.C., that is to say, in the very time of Ramses XII. Under that year our readers will find him set down in the tables which form the introduction to our "Bible-work." Tiglath must have been written in Assyrian with a D: and supposing a G to have slipped out of the name in our MSS. of Macrobius, *Degle-boris* would combine all that may be thought safe in the reading of this royal name. We shall be better able to form a judgment on this point when the long-expected treasures of the cuneiform inscriptions collected by Rawlinson, most of them in the National Museum of Great Britain, shall have been published.

To sum up our present knowledge of important historical records of the Egyptians, literary or official, and they are substantially all comprised in the preceding pages, we may express our gratitude for possessing already infinitely more than even those who studied hieroglyphics in Champollion's lifetime, and Champollion himself, could at that time hope to see so soon brought together. On the other hand, we possess enough of

these official records, royal and sacerdotal, to preclude us from expecting anything like historical truth from them, beyond chronological lists and statistical accounts: both of them highly important matters, but requiring a very severe historical criticism to understand and appreciate, the one chronologically, the other politically. This, however, must not make us forget the immense advantage they afford us, by dispelling prejudices and demolishing false expectations, and by giving us gradually those safe landmarks which enable us to fix Egypt's place in the history of the world, no longer upon traditional nonsense, or the cheap folly of absolute scepticism, but by well established facts.

V. NOVELS AND HUMORISTIC LITERATURE. THE TALE OF THE TWO BROTHERS, BY SCRIBE ENNA, UNDER SETI II., ABOUT 1308.

In the New Empire, and at a very early period of it, we have the last offset of popular literature, the Novel. The story of the "Two Brothers," already alluded to, was written about fourteen years after the Exodus, when King Menephthah was returned and his son co-regent, for he is called both king and king's son.

We must not turn up our noses at this Egyptian novel. It is one of those which are akin to the epos, as an exhibition of the moral government of the world. Its plot is genuine: it rests upon the belief that divine justice is exercised in human affairs. Of how few of the thousands of modern romances can as much be said! Most of them, English as well as French and German (Scott's novels, "Anastasius," the best compositions of Dickens, and Kingsley's "Hypatia" and "Westward Ho!" form exceptions), either conclude with an outburst of despair arising from scepticism or pride (as in the compositions of Lord Byron and the Countess Hahn-Hahn, and in many recent German novels), or

else with a mawkish satiety of life. Even if the semblance of an ethic solution be thought necessary, it is generally brought forward in a much more forced and unnatural manner than in this romance of the days of Moses, and even in some of the same stamp among the Chinese. There is more wisdom and more principle of sound poetry in the prayer of the falsely accused and unjustly persecuted hero Satu (Batu ?), when in imminent danger of his life:

"My good Lord, it is thou who showest on which side is wrong and on which side is right."

At the same time, the Egyptians were not deficient in humour or in the power of representing serious subjects in a sprightly tone. The form which their writings took was very naturally fables about animals, and priests and princes were their favourite characters. As the popular elements of art we possess satirical drawings of solemn processions of animals, a quiz upon those of the priests; and representations of the world reversed, mice besieging cats, women laying violent hands upon men, and so on. Some of these have been published by Lepsius among the earliest monuments of the Modern Empire. But it seems as though animal fable formed in early times the popular, and perhaps the most lively, portion of their literature. Zündel, the Swiss scholar, was the first, as far as I know, to throw out some ingenious suggestions on this point, when calling attention to the numerous references to Egypt, not only in the traditions about the life of Æsop, but in the fables themselves which bear his name.¹⁶⁰ It may be, therefore, that the

¹⁶⁰ Rheinisches Museum für Philologie; new series, v. (1847) p. 422. seq. Welcker (Rhein. Mus. vi. 1839) had previously called attention to the fact that Æsôpos (a corruption of Αἰθίοψ?—the Coptic word is Ethôsh = Kesh) is described in Planudes as a negro. I consider the Greek story of Æsop, the slave of Iadmon at Naukratis

only written work of Sokrates with which we are acquainted was originally drawn from Egyptian sources. We know that in the last few weeks of his life he translated several of *Æsop's* fables. No nation has a better claim to such an invention than the Egyptians, who introduced animal life so largely into their religion and art.

The Romans have expressly remarked upon the sceptical, satirical, and even sarcastic traits in the popular character of the Egyptians, at the same time that they mention their passionate choleric habits. The humour of a nation of slaves, bound down on all sides by prescribed forms, found vent in politics and religion under the garb of parody and satire, which, however, contained a deeply serious meaning, as in the popular tradition about *Mykerinus* for instance. This monarch complained of the gross injustice that, as the oracle announced, the Gods should accord to him, the pious king, only a short life, while his godless predecessors had enjoyed such long reigns. The Gods were right, the priests replied, for they did not choose to let off the impious Egyptians with so short a punishment. If we reflect upon this story, which is assuredly no Greek fiction, we shall see that it exhibits a solemn feature in popular conviction, a belief in the existence of a moral government of the world, mixed up with a feeling of melancholy and bitterness, which degenerated into moroseness and despair on reflecting upon the contrast between it and the realities of life. Neither does it seem to have been an idle invention that *Paapi*, one of the sages of the court of the unfortunate son of the exe-

in the time of *Amasis*, first told by *Herodotus* (ii. 134.), being the witty narrator of the humorous animal fables of Africa and Egypt, to be perfectly historical, whether he penned them in *Samos* itself or not. Compare *Bähr's* remarks on this passage in *Herodotus*, new edition.

crable Ramesses, committed suicide because he foresaw the judgment impending upon so much inhumanity practised by the bigoted king. But the most obvious indication of their solemn conviction upon this head will be found in their ethical formulary of the judgment of Osiris on the dead, to which allusion has been already made.

CONCLUSION.

SUCH, then, was the basis upon which the social and public life of the Egyptians rested. In order to appreciate its noble and venerable characteristics, it will not even be necessary to contrast it with the torpid sacerdotal state of Meroe, or those caricatures of humanity, debased by sensuality and crushed by despotism, the inhabitants of Negroland and the Troglodytes.

Egypt, as compared with the degeneracy and degradation of Africa and of historical Asia, not only erected a barrier against the savageness of the Libyan and Negro, and the frenzied orgies of Asia, but even kept it up and secured it with a vigour of purpose deserving of the grateful recognition of mankind. For in various points of view the Egyptians imposed wholesome restraints upon the wild frenzy of the Turanians as well as heathen Semites. In the very earliest times they abolished human sacrifice, which they declared to be an abomination to the Gods; whereas in Palestine, in Syria, and cultivated Phœnicia and Carthage, sacrifices continued to be offered to Molokh as being the very climax of religious worship. Rome even, herself, in the time of the Cæsars, buried her Gallic prisoners alive in order to appease the wrath of their Gods. Many indeed of the kings of Judah and Israel caused their children "to pass through the fire." The only people who in the age of political civilisation kept themselves wholly free from these atrocities were the Greeks. This is a very striking proof that the exercise of thought alone, and

a belief in the power of reason, of truth, and of goodness, coupled with a respect for the divine nature in man, can save mankind from relapsing into a savage state. Neither external religious customs and ceremonies, nor the hollow and dead civilisation of the Chinese and Byzantines, and of their modern successors, have been capable of producing any such result for themselves, much less for mankind. Egypt was the land of real national civilisation in the times of Abraham and of Joseph, as well as in that of Moses, and it owed this privilege to the ethic character of their religion, and to the intellectuality of their religious philosophy.

The intercourse between man and the Divinity was of a spiritual and personal character, requiring neither the intervention of sorcery nor even of priests. The oracles of the Gods were communicated alike to kings and to priests; incubation in the temples, dreams, and most probably clairvoyance, were the mediums by which the religious feelings were worked up above those of the waking state. Not a trace is found in Egypt of the intoxicating potions, the beating of drums, the ringing of bells, and that violent excitement which was so rife among the Turanian, Iranian, and Semitic races.

Unfortunately our information about the spirit of their domestic and social relations, as well as their constitution, is very meagre. But everything we do know is worthy of our highest respect. Even in Egypt civil liberty is old, and despotism a dynastic innovation. In respect of the rite of circumcision, as well as the practice of monogamy, both law and the customs of the priests represented the ancient and correct principle. Woman was the helpmate of man, not precluded from the enjoyment of social intercourse; which implies a personal relation, and consequently monogamy. It is probable, too, that only royal immorality in the practice of polygamy destroyed the ancient discipline of the nation.

No Egyptian, moreover, was a slave, not even when all classes, except the sacerdotal and warrior castes, were made serfs. The murder of a slave was punished by law. All their domestic habits were of a moral kind. We find no signs of cruelty, tyranny, or licentiousness either on the monuments or the tombs, although they appear to represent all the different phases of actual life. Their habits seem to have been serious, and, considering the times, remarkably gentle. We may also repeat, what has been already laid down as a historical fact in its proper place, that in the earliest ages liberty was their charter, and not imperial Pharaonism, and it remained so down to the 12th Dynasty, the last but one of the Old Empire.

Their system of caste was wholly different from what it was in India. In Egypt there was no Pariah, no conquered indigenous race. Every Egyptian was the child and friend of the Gods; there was one nation, one language, one religion, and a common national worship, though with considerable provincial differences. Their festivals and solemnities were assemblies of the whole people, as their name Panegyries (general gatherings) imports. After the time of Menes, as a general rule, their kings belonged to the warrior caste; but the younger branches of the Pharaonic dynasty merged in the nation as landed proprietors, and thus it happened that sometimes a new dynasty was founded by a man from among the people. Every king, however, was adopted into the sacerdotal caste. In these two, as well as the others, the individual enjoyed great freedom. Marriages, again, might be contracted between persons of different castes, the only exception being the lowest order, that of the swineherds, who were not allowed to intermarry with those of a higher class.

In summing up the whole, we may say that Egypt has the appearance, in many respects, of having been a place of refuge for ancient civilisation, although in a

symbolical disguise. It cannot, indeed, be denied that the Egyptians did not live in vain, and that they well deserved to be, as they were, an object of admiration to the most intellectual nation in the world. True it is that as regards language all the threads of the higher human development issue in Semism and Arianism. As to the former, Judaism claims a place in ethic and religious contemplation by the side of Hellenism: while, in art and science, the Arians of Asia and of Europe changed the face of the earth, and explored for mankind heights and depths previously unknown. But it is the faithfulness and perseverance, the sound sense and moderation, the seriousness and solemnity of the Egyptian mind, which have secured for them an honourable position for all time. Their very death-throes show the indestructible tenacity of their intellect. Their mother tongue, which had been extinct for a century, has, within a very recent date, again become a living language; inasmuch as the Coptic priests, who had long used it in their religious services without understanding a single syllable, have easily learned from their evangelical teachers to read their formularies and their very ancient Coptic Bible.

Now the real centre of this tenacity is faithfulness, and there is nothing more honourable than the steady adhesion to the possession of the true, the beautiful, and the good, which we have inherited, and which it is the vocation of every generation, and, it may be said upon the whole, of every nation, to preserve and to improve. This faithfulness is the only certain guarantee for the genuineness and depth, not merely of that which throws lustre on cultivated races, external civilisation, but also of that priceless jewel, the sense of the Divinity in man and in mankind, even if they understand by humanity exclusively or mainly their own nationality. Every people and every age has its vocation, and it is the condition of its existence, the prize of its life, that it shall not be unfaithful to its charge. All the civilised nations

in history carry in their generation the torch, the divine light received from their predecessors, with more or less brilliancy over the earth. Thanks, then, and honour will be the meed of every nation, and faithfully and affectionately will their memory be cherished, who have not suffered their day of grace to pass away without the renown of having striven after humanity, and manifested it as well as they were able to do. They alone, noble and courageous even in perishing, have delivered the torch into other hands by their example, their teaching, and their art. The Old World was an exclusive world, and Egypt is the oldest portion of it historically known to us. In that world Egypt filled and maintained with glory a vast position, it acted faithfully up to its high behest, it did honestly its part in advancing the development of mankind, and it has left behind enough imperishable monuments of deep ethic thought, of high artistic instincts, and of noble institutions, to be the admiration of remotest times, and the object of the gratitude of the world.

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